

# IN THESE TIMES



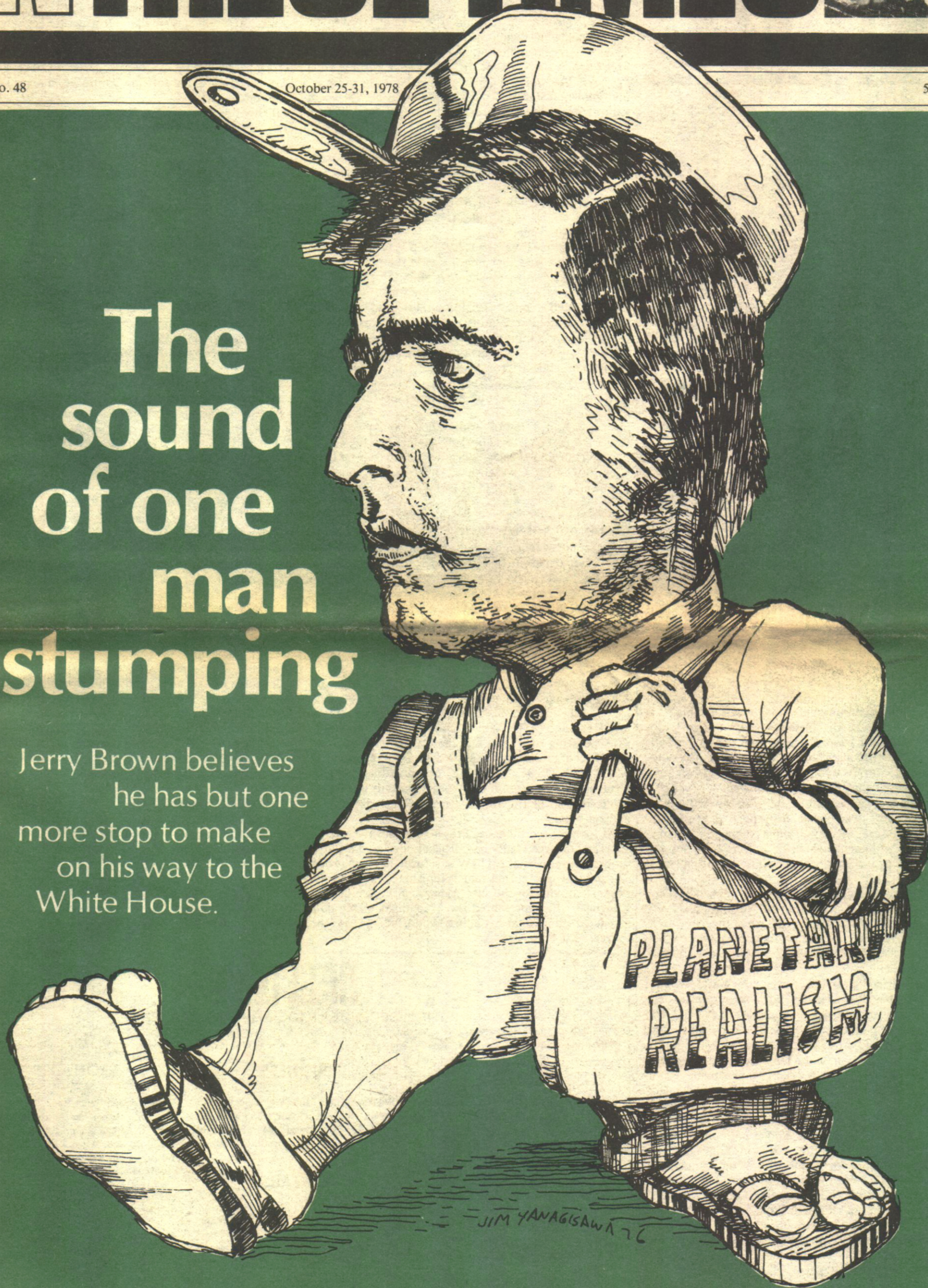
Vol. 2, No. 48

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50 Cents

## The sound of one man stumping

Jerry Brown believes  
he has but one  
more stop to make  
on his way to the  
White House.



Volkswagen workers strike in Pennsylvania/Page 5

Executions are scheduled to start again/Page 6

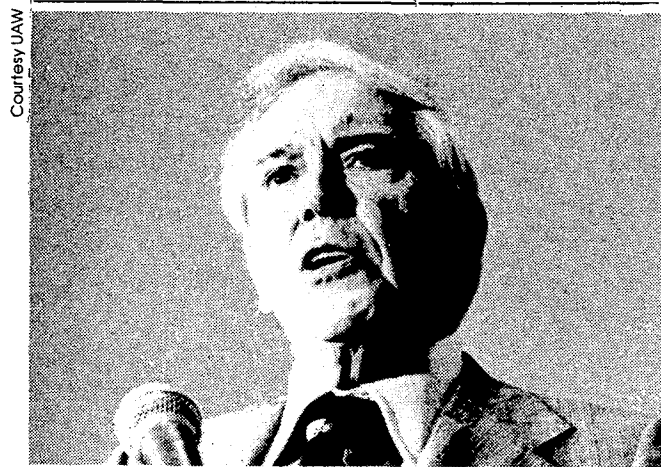
Death in Texas/Page 11

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# THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



UAW president Douglas Fraser speaks to conference.

## UAW conference seeks new course for American left

Dare I say an event—a conference!—was of historic significance? Even one that in its proceedings was as dull as dishwater and as dramatic as a deep-knee bend?

The conference of the left that took place in Detroit last week under the aegis of the United Auto Workers may have been such an event. In its composition and purpose, the conference departed from the long-standing political practice of American labor. And it may have opened the way to an independent working class voice in American politics.

### Labor-business alliance.

For the last 30 years, if not longer, American labor has functioned politically in alliance with liberal elements in the business community. Labor and business have worked together in the business community. Labor and business have worked together in the Democratic Party, on prestigious policy-making committees like the Committee on Economic Development, and on semi-official labor-management committees.

The alliance was sustained by business' willingness to raise workers' wages and to support, in the face of sufficient pressure, social welfare programs, in exchange for labor's willingness to enforce contracts, support the Cold War and drive the Communist left from its ranks.

As long as this alliance remained intact, it was impossible to build an independent working class left. This was apparent during the '60s when the "new left" student movement, unable to overcome its conflicts with labor, got itself irretrievably boxed into a counter-cultural corner.

In the last ten years, however, the business-labor alliance has begun to weaken. For some labor leaders, the Vietnam war destroyed the credibility of Cold War politics. And the economic crunch of the '70s has forced business to renege on its part of the deal. Business has mounted a full-scale attack on labor designed to preserve its profits and prerogatives at labor's expense.

Since Carter's election, business has beaten back labor's attempt to win situs-picketing and labor law reform. It got natural gas deregulation and massive tax breaks over labor's protest. And it convinced legislators to mangle the Humphrey-Hawkins bill.

Nationally, labor lost a majority of bargaining elections in 1977-78. Within the state Democratic parties they had dominated, the unions faced anti-labor politicians like Minnesota's Robert Short. And in Missouri, they may not be able to defeat a nationally-sponsored right-to-work initiative on the November ballot.

### Healing old wounds.

What to do?

There were intimations of change in labor's eagerness to include feminists and environmentalists in the Full Employment Action Committee and in George Meany's hearty endorsement of the ERA. But the first open break with the past came this summer when UAW president Douglas Fraser resigned from the presidentially-sponsored Labor-Management Group, and

when the Machinists' president William Winpisinger broke with Carter and with Democrats who had betrayed their promises to labor. (IN THESE TIMES, Oct. 4.)

Then in mid-September, Fraser called for a conference in Detroit Oct. 17 to "consider formation of a new alliance aimed at transforming the American political system by making it more accountable, responsive and democratic."

Fraser's initiative was significant both because it threatened to create an independent voice for labor and because, in bringing together by invitation all varieties of leftists, it attempted to heal Cold War wounds.

### Carter ignored.

Before the conference, I talked to several UAW officials about what they hoped to accomplish. The conference had been called hurriedly, and was not expected to achieve agreement on "substance," only on a "process" by which the new alliance could be built. In inviting organizations, the UAW sought a wide spectrum, from "the carpenters to the [new left, explicitly socialist] New American Movement," in one official's words.

It was going to be harder, the officials acknowledged, to create a multi-issue alliance than it had been to create single-issue coalitions for civil rights and against the war. It would be more difficult to avoid thorny strategic questions, as well as questions of underlying political philosophy and goals.

In the first meeting, the UAW itself was not going to raise certain issues that might divide the participants, like the SALT talks or the feasibility of an incomes policy. Carter was also to be avoided as a topic. The UAW wanted to build a coalition that could transform the Democratic Party rather than one that was narrowly focused on dumping or pressuring Carter.

The plan was to set up organizing committees for the new alliance after a day's discussion. It would be impossible for the participants, as a group, to have a direct impact on either the November elections or the midterm Democratic Party convention in December, but it was hoped that the conference could lend weight to the December efforts of the New Democratic Coalition (NDC) and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC)-sponsored Democratic Agenda.

The new alliance would be formed sometime in early 1979.

### Meany not unfriendly.

On Monday evening, on the eve of the conference, the UAW had a special cocktail party for the left press. It brought together, in one room, such publications as *Pravda*, the *Daily World*, *Dissent*, *Social Policy*, the *Guardian*, and *IN THESE TIMES*.

Next morning at his press conference, Fraser was flanked by the United Farm Workers' Cesar Chavez, the NAACP's Benjamin Hooks, NOW's Elie Smeal, and Rafe Pomerantz from Friends of the Earth.

At the conference, 103 organizations and 30 unions were represented. The unions ranged from expected entries like the Machinists, the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers, and AFSCME to conservative unions like the Operating Engineers and the Carpenters and Joiners. The organizations included socialist groups like NAM and DSOC, women's organizations, energy groups, statewide community organizations like Massachusetts Fair Share, and Democratic Party reform organizations.

At his press conference, Fraser said that the Service Workers' George Hardy had officially declined an invitation because of the UAW's refusal to break with Carter. It was rumored that Winpisinger failed to appear personally for the same reason, although George Kourbas, who represented the Machinists at the conference, told me that his union supported Fraser's initiative.

Fraser also reported that George Meany had called him to explain that as a non-partisan organization the AFL-CIO could not endorse his gathering, but that he was not discouraging member unions from attending.

### A party of personalities.

The conference, Fraser explained, was "unstructured." In the morning, Fraser led off with an introduction, followed by Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA), representing NDC, who was to offer an issues overview. Then two hours of speeches from the floor by anyone who could make it to one of four mikes placed amidst the 250 participants. The speeches were supposed to have some bearing on the opening addresses.

The afternoon was similarly unstructured. Congressman Don Fraser (D-MN), representing the Democratic Conference, was to lead off with a discussion of party reform, followed by another two hours of floor discussion. Afterwards, a decision would be made on what to do next.

In his opening speech, Fraser outlined the UAW's approach. "The Democratic Party has become a party of personalities, not of principles," he declared. Politicians simply made promises to get votes and then ignored them.

He blamed the decline of public participation in politics on the degeneration of party discipline and political accountability. "The reason you have less and less participation is more people who raise the question, 'What's the use?'" he said.

In the absence of popular participation, the "right wing and their corporate allies" had been able to thrive. They had succeeded in winning over the "faithless politicians," who for Fraser were epitomized in the 91 Democrats who voted against the progressive Fisher-Corman tax reform bill in the House.

Fraser offered two different kinds of solutions. One kind had to do with the rules of politics: to reform the Democratic Party so as to create accountability and to eliminate the filibuster in the Senate so as to prevent minorities from blocking legislation like labor law reform.

The other kind of solution had to do with offering people "new alternatives" based on the goals of "better distribution of income, equality, and a just and decent society."

The "coalition," or "alliance," as Fraser alternately called it, was to be the instrument for achieving these reforms and presenting these programmatic alternatives.

### Is Alan Bakke the enemy?

In the next speech, Ron Dellums denied that the right's ascendancy was based on any shift in public sentiment. The right was, he noted, challenging the same kind of things as the left: "a system that doesn't work, unfair taxes." But the right has superior organization and an ability to articulate the issues and set the terms of the debate.

Dellums is a socialist, and in his presentation he offered a moving but somewhat hazy paean to a more systematic political approach. "Is Alan Bakke our enemy, or is our enemy a system that is incapable of generating equality?" Dellums asked. He called for establishing an "economic democracy," which he defined largely in terms of rights to a job, education and health care.

Dellums hearkened back to Martin Luther King's experience. During the civil rights movement, Dellums explained, "people believed the system worked, but that it didn't involve some people. The people to whom we held out the promise of change—their lives didn't change." King realized this, Dellums said, and that was why, by the end of his life, he had moved toward seeing the "distribution of wealth and power" as the key issue in American politics.

*Continued on page 18.*

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# IN THE NATION



By Larry Remer

SAN DIEGO

**T**HERE'S ONE STOP THAT JERRY Brown has to make on his way to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. In two weeks he must get himself re-elected governor of California. For a supposedly liberal Democrat these days, that would seem a difficult undertaking. The aftershocks of this spring's tax revolt are still reverberating across the country. In Massachusetts, Gov. Michael Dukakis—who'd been said to possess more than a passing likeness to Brown—fell victim to a primary opponent who waged a campaign promising tax relief modeled after Prop. 13. A similar fate also befell Minnesota Congressman Donald Fraser—once a stalwart of anti-war efforts to block Vietnam appropriations—who tried to move up to Hubert Humphrey's old Senate seat.

But Jerry Brown, the political Zenmaster, has stood at the epicenter of the tax-quake and survived.

Six months ago Brown was barely an even-money bet to win re-election. A sense of ennui appeared to grip both the Brown administration and the public's perception of him. As Brown's fabled public approval rating dipped below 50 percent for the first time, Howard Jarvis' drive to pass Prop. 13 was moving into high gear.

Though Brown opposed 13 when it was on the ballot, he quickly moved after its two-to-one victory to become identified with its implementation. A "born again" tax rebel, he took the lead in slashing government spending and in cancelling scheduled raises for public employees. The suddenness and completeness of his flip-flop on 13 so confused the electorate that polls taken in September showed a majority of voters thinking Brown had supported Prop. 13 all along.

As the California gubernatorial campaign enters its final weeks, Jerry Brown appears to have put it all together. Jetting around the state to bask in the glow of large, friendly crowds along the campaign trail, he exudes confidence and inner peace—born not from chanting a mantra but from the latest polls, which give him a commanding 20-point lead over his Republican rival, Evelle Younger.

## Subliminal messages.

In Jerry Brown, Carter's pollster Pat Cadell saw the most powerful political media superstar in the country, capable of rallying the grass roots and waging a strong campaign against Carter in 1980.

Jerry Brown's media mystique is his most valuable weapon—and he guards it closely. On television, he takes pains to be "cool" and pays assiduous attention to the actual and subliminal messages he gives out.

Former intimate Jim Lorenz recalls watching campaign commercials during the '74 election with Brown noting that "I sound tough and I haven't proposed

## ZEN POLITICS

# Jerry Brown appeases the voters with shell game

Brown's ability to "go both right and left at the same time" is unnerving for his labor backers.

anything the liberals can criticize me for. In fact," he crowed, "I haven't committed myself to do anything at all."

After he took office, his popularity soared when he turned in his chauffeur-driven Cadillac for a more modest Plymouth. It climbed still higher after he refused to move into the \$1.3 million governor's mansion built by his predecessor, Ronald Reagan. Jerry preferred a mattress on the floor of a two-bedroom apartment a short walk from his office.

Out of such stuff as Brown's quips about Starship Earth came a presidential campaign that beat Jimmy Carter in three out of four primaries. Pressed at the time for more detailed descriptions of his program and plans, Brown replied with a smile, "It will emerge."

But Brown has touched the segment of the population that is just coming of age—the post World War II generation. They identify with his iconoclastic nature and his eclectic approach to life. Toughened by the '60s, Brown was peripherally involved with the civil rights, anti-war and farmworker movements. The decade left him with a healthy degree of skepticism and a willingness to challenge conventional notions.

## Opposes nuclear power.

The real question is, what has Brown done in his four years in office?

Brown's tenure in office can be divided roughly into two segments. The early Jerry Brown has a decidedly more leftward tilt than the present incarnation. On gut issues, Brown has always stood by the liberal and activist elements in the Democratic Party. He has:

- Stood firmly against the death penalty, vetoing its re-instatement by the legislature only to have that action overridden by a two-thirds vote.

- Supported the United Farm Workers by steering through a bill creating an Agricultural Labor Relations Board and giving farmworkers in California the right to

organize a union in the fields.

- Opposed nuclear power. Brown's opposition last year to construction of the SJundesert nuclear plan near Blythe was the key element in killing the project.

- Appointed dozens of qualified women and minorities to judgeships and other state posts. Considered the most significant long-term effect of his administration, Brown opened up state boards and agencies to consumer and public representatives, put blacks and Chicanos into judicial posts in unprecedented numbers (capped by his appointment of Rose Bird as Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court), and generally gave access to power institutions to segments of the population that had no access under Reagan.

For those reasons, the bulk of activist forces in California support Brown's bid for re-election. Chief among these is the Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED), whose chair, Tom Hayden, ran unsuccessfully for U.S. Senate in the Democratic primary in 1976.

## Left support.

In an interview with *IN THESE TIMES*, Hayden reiterated that support. "It's a question of whether or not one sees any value in who is holding executive offices like president and governor," Hayden said. "I would prefer for us to deal with Jerry Brown, who represents an alternative energy path and entry into political power for groups like CED and the UFW, than with Younger, who would exclude us and probably try to repress us."

"There's just too much fascination with Brown. I think his personality is simple and his outlook is simple: To get him to react you have to create a constituency. For example, he might say to himself that he thinks the farmworkers are right. But if there aren't any farmworkers out there demanding that he do what he knows he ought to do then he won't do it."

In addition to CED, Brown has the solid backing of the black community, the

Chicano community, nearly all of organized labor, and nearly every activist group in the state. The left in California was as deeply shaken by Prop. 13 as was Brown, and the appearance of his vulnerability has forced progressives, liberals, and grass-roots forces to close ranks behind him.

## Unnerving ally.

With a governor who supports farmworkers, environmentalists, and access to the system for women and minorities, one would think that California's progressive forces would have cause to be ecstatic that he appears to be on the verge of winning re-election.

Not so. His veto of the death penalty is perhaps his best known "act of conscience." Thus, he can afford to support increased prison construction, longer terms for so-called "career criminals," and improvements in police technology, thereby winning the endorsement of several police groups including PORAC—the statewide Police Officers Research and Action Council—and the influential Los Angeles Police League.

"The ACLU says I have the same position on crime as Reagan did," he quipped recently.

This ability, in Brown's own words, to "go both right and left at the same time" is downright unnerving for Brown backers, especially labor.

Shortly after he was elected, Brown almost single-handedly enacted the farm labor law. He always backed collective bargaining for public employees, raises in unemployment benefits, and extension of workers' compensation benefits to domestic help.

But Brown wrangled repeatedly during his term, with John Henning, the statewide AFL-CIO head. Only after Brown appointed Henning to the prestigious Regents of the University of California did the acrimony subside. More important, Brown's relationships with local labor leaders and the rank and file have gone from poor to worse.

In the aftermath of Prop. 13, Brown made a pay freeze for public employees the cornerstone of his "born again" tax cutter image. After he announced his plan, thousands of workers gathered on the Capitol Mall to protest. Brown was booed off the stage when he showed up to explain his position. And recently, the feisty California State Employees Association—which had contributed \$15,000 to his '74 campaign—voted to "publicly oppose" him.

## Nixon-like opponent.

Brown's strongest asset in his current race may well be his Republican opponent, Attorney General Evelle Younger, who cut his political teeth in the Nixon/Reagan heyday of the California GOP.

Younger calls for 50 nuclear plants in California by the year 2000, a dismantling of the farm labor legislation, and a re-

*Continued on page 6.*





Dede Feldman

## NUCLEAR

# Protest salty solution for nuclear waste

By Dede Feldman

CARLSBAD, N.M.

**M**ORE THAN 200 PEOPLE gathered in a sunny park on the outskirts of Carlsbad, N.M., Oct. 7, to protest the Department of Energy's plans to store radioactive waste in salt formations 27 miles to the southwest. The project, known as the Waste Isolation Pilot Program (WIPP), is the only "feasible site" being studied by the DOE for permanent storage of nuclear waste. If approved, it would house transuranic and high level wastes from the government's weapons program, as well as 1,000 spent fuel assemblies from commercial reactors around the country.

The crowd cheered speakers and a *tatro troupe* composed mainly of young Chicanos from southern New Mexico.

"Let's locate it in New Mexico," the mock DOE representative shouts in a short play about the federal government's nationwide search for a storage facility for nuclear waste. "All they have there is Chicanos, Native Americans and dumb cowboys—they'll never get together."

"What's the matter?" a mock government official and military man shouts when they hesitate to take the radioactive waste. "Don't you like the government?"

"We are the government," the chorus roars back.

*Teatro* is a Chicano-style street theater that grew out of the New Mexico land grant movement and the United Farmworkers struggle in the 1960s. This is the first time it has been used to dramatize a nuclear issue.

One speaker, Carroll Wilson, who described himself as a Presbyterian and a businessman, said that many residents of Southeastern New Mexico had moved there to retire.

"Who in his right mind would want to leave one hellhole and come to one that will make hell look good? What businessman would want to locate his business here?" Wilson asked.

Wilson, from Canyon, Texas, said many Texans opposed the WIPP project because radioactive materials would be transported through Texas to the New Mexico site. Wilson said that in his area the Chamber of Commerce, the County Commission and the Court Judges and Commissioners Association oppose the disposal of nuclear waste in their county.

In Carlsbad, members of the Chamber of Commerce, the Mayor and other city officials support the WIPP site because they feel it will create jobs and bolster the national push toward nuclear energy. No city, county, state or labor officials spoke or attended the Carlsbad rally.

Criticisms leveled by speakers at Sunday's rally centered around the government's willingness to go ahead with the WIPP project before safety studies are completed.

"They must think I'm a mushroom, they keep me in the dark and feed me nothing but horse manure," Rick Wilcox, another Texan, told the crowd.

DOE chose the salt formations at Carlsbad because salt seemed to be the only formation stable enough to remain unchanged for the hundreds of thousands of years that the wastes will remain radioactive. Yet salt is a highly soluble medium and many scientists, both within and outside of the DOE, have said that water could dissolve some of the salt, opening a path for possible leakage, cause col-

lapse holes or erosion of the salt formation.

"Geologically speaking," the WIPP site is not worth a darn," says Roxanne Kartchner, chairwoman of the Carlsbad Nuclear Waste Forum, and a principal organizer of the rally.

Kartchner is careful to separate the rally's opposition to the WIPP site from opposition to the entire nuclear question.

"We're talking about our town and our countryside, we're not anti-nuclear, we're anti-WIPP," the young housewife said.

"We're not the radicals," she added. "The opposition's the radicals."

In an interview, Kartchner said that one of the most disturbing things about WIPP was the government's "lies and deviations" about what is being stored in the repository, and whether the waste will be retrievable.

As originally conceived by AEC, the Carlsbad site was to handle low and intermediate levels of radioactive waste. There was also to be some experimental

tion on a retrievable basis with higher level waste. But in October of 1977 New Mexicans were told the facility was primarily for high level defense wastes.

This spring at hearings held in Carlsbad, Albuquerque, Santa Fe, and in Texas, DOE officials said that commercial wastes—including spent fuel rods—would also be located at WIPP on an experimental basis. At the hearings, DOE officials admitted that wastes were retrievable only within the first 20 years of storage.

Faced with an outraged New Mexico public, DOE officials, who even conservative New Mexico Senator Pete Domenici called "less than candid," promised that New Mexico would have the "veto" over any waste repository.

Just how that veto was to be exercised was left open.

"There are lots of unanswered questions," Kartchner said. "If only I could feel that they were telling the truth about WIPP being the best solution, not just the only solution."

## LABOR

## Slow progress on safety and health

By Dan Marshall

**S**INCE 1970, WHEN CONGRESS passed the Occupational Safety and Health Act, the labor movement has turned its attention steadily toward health and safety in the workplace. Progress has been slow—only ten full-time industrial hygienists are employed by unions—and carried forward mainly by individual unions like the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW), the Clothing and Textile Workers, the Mine Workers, and the United Auto Workers. Now the AFL-CIO, reacting to pressure from its constituent unions and from rank-and-file demands, is placing a higher priority on health and safety procedures.

In early September, the AFL-CIO held a conference on health and safety convened by its new Department of Occupational Safety and Health. The department, which is directed by George H.R. Taylor, will have three full-time staff members and an annual budget of \$100,000. While its creation is only a

small step toward protecting the health and safety of 20 million unionized workers, its existence is a sign of the federation's growing concern. (Taylor predicts that in five years unions will employ 25 to 30 health technicians.)

"This first AFL-CIO conference was an impressive performance," writes veteran labor reporter John Herling. "The three-day session brought together as large a representative delegation as a constitutional convention." In his opening speech, AFL-CIO president George Meany focused on the importance of beating back right-wing attempts to "reform" the Occupational Safety and Health Act by exempting small businesses.

"Everybody's being forced into looking at this question," Anthony Mazzochi of the OCAW recently told *Business Week*. "If you critically examine what each union does, you see that people are at different places. But they're in motion, whether it's a hard run or a walk."

Some unions consider health and safety issues top bargaining demands. In 1976, the United Rubber Workers won access

to lists of chemicals used by Uniroyal, Inc. Since 1972, rubber companies have been required to set aside one cent for each hour worked for research into possible health hazards in the industry.

The United Steel Workers, with an "international health staff" of ten and 800 local health and safety representatives, won a "rate retention" provision in last year's negotiations with steel and aluminum companies. The provision requires workers transferred from a higher to a lower paying job because of exposure to toxic substances to be paid at the higher rate.

Barriers imposed by industry and by the union's own priorities stall action on health and safety issues. Companies often balk at releasing information about potentially hazardous chemicals used in their production processes. The few health and safety experts employed by unions are compelled to divide their time fighting to retain the 1970 Safety and Health legislation, testifying at standard-setting hearings, and formulating collective bargaining demands.



## LABOR

# Unauthorized strike stuns VW, UAW

By Eric Leif Davin & Joe White

**L**AST WEEK'S STRIKE AT THE nation's sole Volkswagen assembly plant in New Stanton, Pa., stunned not only Volkswagen officials but also the International leadership of the United Auto Workers.

Lured to western Pennsylvania by a \$300 million package deal that included state financed low-cost loans, expanded and improved plant facilities, construction of new access roads, training of employees and a five-year tax moratorium, Volkswagen is the first, and so far only, foreign automaker to locate in this country. The move was hailed locally as 30,000 jobs were projected at both the VW plant and spinoff industries nearby.

The sagging American dollar and subsequent skyrocketing prices had pushed the VW, along with Japanese autos, out of their former low cost range and resulted in slumping sales. Relocation in the U.S. was seen as the only means of retaining VW's hold on the American market.

For its part, the UAW viewed the relocation as a chance to enlarge their membership rolls and expand their influence on the labor scene. During last June's NLRB-supervised union affiliation election, the UAW showcased its wages and benefits packages already won at Ford, Chrysler, and General Motors. UAW International president Douglas Fraser, in a local visit, promised the VW workers "equity" with other UAW locals.

But the rank and file of VW's UAW Local 2055 were surprised when their negotiating team emerged from secret meetings with VW officials to present the first contract to the membership. On a wide array of issues it did not meet the wishes of the rank and file: it did not deal with mandatory overtime and it did not guarantee vacation and benefits compar-

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette



Volkswagen strikers on the picket line at New Stanton, Pa.

able with other auto contracts. Most important, wages fell short of "equity" with the Big Three. The VW workers, many of whom had previously worked in the auto industry, would receive \$6.50 per hour compared to the going rate of \$8.20 for the big three.

Stating that they had to pay the same price for a loaf of bread as anyone in Detroit, the VW workers caught their local and International leadership by surprise and rejected the contract by a 12-to-1 margin on Sunday, Oct. 8. Strike was on everyone's mind and about 50 workers left immediately from the contract voting

session to establish a picket line at the company's gates, although there was no work shift on Sunday.

For the entire week, the International and local leaders worked to spark a back-to-work movement. On Saturday, Oct. 14, however, the membership met in an old tire plant near the VW factory and voted to return to work—while their negotiating team returns to the bargaining tables to hammer out a new agreement with Volkswagen.

The repercussions of the one-week wildcat could be far-reaching. There is now mistrust between the rank and file and the

leadership. Signs appearing on the picket line declared: "Sold out by UAW." Strikers argued that Volkswagen received a big break in moving to Pennsylvania and so the workers should receive parity on wages. They also charged that the local leadership went easy on VW in violation of promises to the membership.

The UAW has never stated it would go easy on foreign automakers locating here, but it has taken pains to woo them. Indeed, the UAW has been a leader in encouraging foreign automakers to relocate here and not long ago sent a delegation of top union officials to Japan to sell the Big Three of that country—Toyota, Honda, and Nissan (Datsun)—on the virtues of the American work force which, they maintained, was stable and predictable.

The strike, however, could affect the chances of the Japanese following Volkswagen to the American heartland. Jay D. Aldridge, of Penn's Southwest Association, an industrial development group, believes that "we may never know if it has an effect. We may have a company we're working with turn us down; they could suddenly lose interest in the region. But they would never tell us what was on their minds."

David R. Brown, the state official who put together the multi-million dollar package that brought VW to Pennsylvania says it's too early to determine the impact of the VW strike. "But it's safe to assume that if it does have an impact, it will not be a favorable one."

Some Japanese automakers are already nervous about the American labor climate in the wake of last week's strike. Yasuhiko Suzuki, vice-president for external relations at Nissan's American subsidiary, stated, "The Volkswagen strike is quite upsetting to us. I don't think we can say it won't affect our deliberations." ■

Eric Leif Davin and Joe White are freelance writers in Pittsburgh.

A book of days, a book of hope.

## WHILE THERE IS A SOUL IN PRISON

One 1979 desk calendar is both practical and idealistic: the War Resisters League calendar. Measuring 5½" by 8½", it has a page for each week and is handsomely produced with many striking illustrations. Its spiral binding enables it to lie flat.

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## Reds stay away, angry strikers say

By Eric Leif Davin

No one lives near the massive blue and white buildings of Volkswagen's New Stanton assembly plant 35 miles southeast of Pittsburgh. It rests in the rolling hills of rural western Pennsylvania at the center of newly built access roads.

My friend and I left the turnpike and turned onto Volkswagen Drive. As we neared the plant, we passed parked cars lining both sides of the access road. Further ahead we saw the dark line of the pickets massed across the main entrance. It was the fourth day of the unauthorized strike and the workers were out in force.

As we walked toward the pickets, several detached themselves from the main body and approached us.

"Who are you affiliated with?" one asked.

"Hi," I answered, extending a copy of *IN THESE TIMES*. "We're here to do a story for *IN THESE TIMES*, a national newspaper coming out of Chicago."

"That's a goddamn Communist newspaper and we don't want you here," the leader stated. A grim looking clump of men now surrounded us.

"It's not a Communist newspaper," I answered. "The most it might be accused of is being a socialist newspaper. Have you ever seen a copy?"

"I don't need to. It's a damn Communist newspaper and we don't want you here. We ought to take your damn newspapers and burn them in that trash can over there. Now, if you know what's good for you, you'll get your ass out of here, fast!"

"We just want to ask a few questions..."

"And we're not answering. You can go ask your damn questions in Russia where you came from. You're just causing trouble here, where you don't belong," the leader continued, poking his finger into my chest. "Now leave before we do some damage to you."

The men crowding around us nodded agreement with their leader and began jostling our elbows and nudging us back into the street.

"I don't understand," I said. "Has someone misrepresented you?"

"You're damn right! You guys twist the story all around!"

"Who twisted the story all around?"

"For all we know, you did it. Now get the hell out!"

\* \* \*

We left. We sat in Joe's car discussing the hornet's nest we

had stumbled into. Then we drove off, looking for another entrance.

We found it.

And the strikers found us.

Before we could get out of our car, we were blocked: a car in front, on the driver's side, in the rear, the embankment was on our right. An impressive display of solidarity and organization.

Hefty looking workers poured out of their cars, surrounding us on both sides. "We warned you guys once to get the hell out. We're through talking. We're gonna break your kneecaps if you don't leave, now!"

"Look," I said, tempting Fate. "We'll be glad to go, just tell us why you're so opposed to talking to us."

One of the strikers shoved a poorly mimeographed yellow leaflet through the window on my side. It called for a boycott of VW Rabbits and a continuation of the strike. At the top was the logo: NUWO, National United Workers Organization.

"You part of these guys?" he demanded.

"Absolutely not," I answered. "I've never even heard of that organization. Can I keep this?"

"Hell, no," he said, grabbing it back. "Just get the hell out of here, now! And don't come back on the shift change, either."

Just then, VW security police appeared and the strikers beating the crap out of us while the VW security police looked politely on. They took down our license plate number and, once assured that we had been noted by VW Security, the strikers allowed us to leave.

And, driving behind us all the way to the turnpike was a carload of burly strikers insuring that we didn't stop at any of the additional entrances we passed.

\* \* \*

I still don't know what the leaflet contained that enraged and alienated the VW strikers. However, I now know who is responsible for the leaflet: the Revolutionary Communist Party, of which NUWO is a front organization. They had not been known to exist in Pittsburgh, but they managed to reach the VW picket lines and the strikers were waiting to bust the kneecaps of the next "communists" who came along.

Meanwhile, the leadership of UAW Local 2055 insisted that only "a handful of militants who defied orders to abandon the picket lines" kept the wildcat strike alive. "There are Communist elements here," said Cecil Hampton, UAW Region 2A Assistant Director. ■



## DEATH PENALTY

# Florida Governor OKs an execution

By Art Goldberg & Nan Blitman

**G**ARY GILMORE, THE LAST person executed in the U.S., wanted desperately to die. John Spenkelink, who may well be the next, wants just as desperately to live. But a federal appeals court in August rejected Spenkelink's appeal from a Florida murder conviction, leaving the 29-year-old drifter with only one more option—an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, which already has ruled Florida's death penalty law constitutional.

Of the more than 400 people on death rows across the country, Spenkelink's case is the furthest advanced through legal channels. Florida Gov. Reubin Askew has signed the warrant for his execution, which could occur by the end of the year.

Opponents of capital punishment, fearful that Spenkelink's death in Florida's electric chair might set off a "bloodbath" of state-sanctioned executions, have begun scrambling for new arguments to present to the high court.

Ray Marky, Florida's assistant attorney general, disagrees with the bloodbath notion. "There was no bloodbath after Gary Gilmore was shot," he said, "although many people predicted there would be."

Florida has more than 100 people on death row; eight are in the final stages of appeal. Gilmore, who was shot by a Utah firing squad in January 1977, was the first person executed in the U.S. since 1967 and might still be alive had he not abandoned his right to appeal and demanded to be shot.

Spenkelink, however, has maintained from the outset that he accidentally shot his traveling companion, Joseph Syzmankiewicz, during a scuffle in a Tallahassee motel room while trying to reclaim money he says Syzmankiewicz stole from him. He also contends that the older, more forceful companion made him commit acts of sodomy at gunpoint and forced him to participate in games of Russian roulette.

Like Gilmore, Spenkelink is white and has a long criminal record, including two armed robbery convictions and an escape from a California prison. Syzmankiewicz also had a long criminal record.

The record is probably what impelled a reluctant Gov. Askew to pick out Spenkelink from nine capital cases and sign the death warrant.

Ironically, there are two condemned prisoners in Florida who want to die, but they have not yet completed the state's mandatory review procedure.

## Opponents of capital punishment fear that Spenkelink's death in Florida's electric chair may set off bloodbath.

Askew, who publicly favors capital punishment, has said privately that he hopes no one is executed while he is still in office. But Florida officials believe the execution could come before January, when his term ends, if the U.S. Supreme Court denies Spenkelink's appeal.

Like a growing number of public officials, Askew appears to have doubts about capital punishment. In the past two years, Gov. Hugh Carey of New York, Jerry Brown of California, Ray Blanton of Tennessee, Brendan Byrne of New Jersey, Marvin Mandel of Maryland and Milton Shapp of Pennsylvania have all vetoed death penalty bills, even though public opinion favors such legislation, by about two to one, according to public opinion polls.

Currently, 32 states have valid death penalty statutes. Others, including Minnesota and Wisconsin, have not had capital punishment for more than 60 years and have no appreciably higher homicide rates than states with the death penalty.

Even the Supreme Court has had trouble with capital punishment. In 1972 it struck down most existing death penalty laws, saying they were unconstitutional because they were being arbitrarily and discriminatorily applied. At that time eight of the nine justices said they personally opposed capital punishment.

Many states, including Florida, then rewrote their death penalty laws. In 1976 the high court seemed to reverse itself. It held that capital punishment could be constitutional if it was carried out under clear, consistent guidelines, but it was not made mandatory.

Once again, it invalidated a large number of death penalty laws, but upheld those in Florida, Georgia and Texas.

In 1977 the Supreme Court ruled that no one could be sentenced to death for rape or kidnapping. In July 1978 it ordered states to restructure laws so that a defendant could present to the sentencing judge the widest possible range of mitigating factors about his character, record or circumstances of the crime.

The 1978 decision removed 140 people from death row and invalidated death penalty laws in Ohio, Arizona and Pennsylvania.

Al DiFranco



Spenkelink's attorneys are expected to lean heavily on the 1978 Supreme Court decision in their appeal and argue that the jury that recommended the death sentence and the judge who imposed it were not able to consider all the mitigating circumstances in the case.

"John's is not a traditional death penalty-type case," said one of his attorneys, Joel Berger of the Legal Defense Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). "The death penalty is usually reserved for people who kill total strangers, either during a robbery, or in some particularly gruesome fashion."

"There have been a lot nastier cases in Florida where it has not been imposed. Courts generally don't hand down death sentences when the victim and perpetrator have known each other."

Spenkelink's NAACP attorneys will also try to save their white client by arguing, ironically, that Florida's capital punishment law is racially biased against blacks. They probably will ask the Supreme Court to overturn the Florida law because, under it, 90 percent of those sentenced to death have been killers of

whites, while only 8 percent were killers of blacks. They will say that killers are rarely sentenced to die when their victim is black.

Robert Shevin, Florida's attorney general, a leading proponent of capital punishment and a strong gubernatorial candidate, calls such arguments "frivolous" delaying tactics. Assistant attorney general Marky is confident the court will again uphold Florida's death penalty law.

"All I know is that 60 percent of the people on death row in Florida are white," Marky said, "and our laws must take into account a person's age, any economic or cultural deprivation they may have suffered and many other factors before they can be sentenced to die."

Nationally, about half of all death row inmates are black, but blacks comprise 11 percent of the population. They comprise about 23 percent of Florida's population.

(©1978 Pacific News Service)

Art Goldberg, a former editor at *Ramparts* and *Agence France-Presse*, writes regularly for *Pacific News Service*. Nan Blitman is a lawyer who specializes in legal matters for *PNS*.

## Brown's next step

Continued from page 3.

turn to "responsibility" in his appointments to judicial posts and state regulatory agencies.

A former FBI agent and District Attorney of Los Angeles, Younger is reeling from charges that he engaged in Watergate-style dirty tricks against his professional and political adversaries. In the late '40s, Younger was exposed as the FBI agent who bugged the hotel room of Longshoreman leader Harry Bridges during a labor convention. More recently, two of his campaign aides were cited for investigating Jerry Brown and using confidential law enforcement information—made available by the Attorney General's office—to prepare an election eve smear against Brown.

### Junk food adviser.

Brown is a politician with an uncanny instinct for doing what's necessary for survival.

Though he fared well during his foray into presidential politics, by the end of 1976 he could see the handwriting on the wall. That year, the Farm Worker Initiative—which he backed strongly—went down to a two-to-one defeat under an onslaught of grower money. Earlier, the same cruel fate befell a Nuclear Safeguards Initiative that would have severely limited the options for construction of nuclear power plants in the state.

Since the middle of his term, Brown has been slowly tilting towards corporate America.

Brown turned to little-known San Diego businessman Dick Silberman to help him make his accommodation. The son of a junk food dealer who became a millionaire as the co-founder of the Jack-in-the-Box fast food chain, Silberman was ideally suited for the job. Brown met Silberman during his presidential campaign and was impressed by the businessman's

drive, energy and dedication. Silberman has summed up his philosophy by declaring, "I'm socially liberal and fiscally conservative," watchwords that have marked the second half of Brown's administration.

Under Silberman's tutelage, Brown made his now-famous pilgrimages to corporate suites in New York and Tokyo, urging execs to reconsider California's business reputation. He backed abolition of the business inventory tax and tax breaks for multinationals in efforts to woo Japanese auto manufacturers to build plants in California.

His much-heralded audiences with the heads of Honda and Toyota only enhanced his mystique and made him appear more presidential. California, after all, is the only state with its own foreign policy.

### Problems postponed.

It was while Brown was busy currying corporate favor that the steamroller to pass Prop. 13 began to grow. Thanks to the way inflation kept pushing California families into higher state income tax brackets, state revenues had reached an

all-time high and state government had accumulated a surplus of between \$5 and \$7 billion.

The legislature wrangled all session with a progressive tax reform bill to return this surplus and provide relief to single-family homeowners who had been hard hit by rising property taxes, but Brown vacillated in his support of the bill. Largely because of that, the legislature's tax relief program failed, setting the stage for the passage of Prop. 13.

Thanks to the doling out of the state surplus, many of the problems portended by the passage of Prop. 13—social service cutbacks and increased unemployment—have been postponed until next year. That's a long time in politics, and Brown is basking in the glow of his image as a tax rebel.

If the California election goes the way it is leaning an, Brown wins a landslide victory, it will hasten the day when he will be jetting around the country only to be met at the airport—as he is in every California city—by a waiting Plymouth. ■ Larry Remer is *IN THESE TIMES*' California correspondent.



# IN THE WORLD

## SWEDEN

Tabbe Gustavson/Reportageaid

# Social Democrats break away from logic of capitalism

By Nancy Lieber

STOCKHOLM

**W**E WERE IN THE MIDST of a special seminar arranged for the fraternal delegates to the Swedish Social Democratic party's 27th Congress when the Jamaican delegate asked ex-Prime Minister Olof Palme's former Minister of the Economy, "Do you still regard Sweden as a capitalist society after more than 40 years of social democratic government?"

"Yes."

"Most interesting."

Many left socialists, to say nothing of communists and independent radicals, share the Jamaican's skepticism regarding the power of social democracy to transcend capitalism. Yet, while it is generally agreed that British and German social democratic governments seem to be content with simply managing capitalist society in a more humane way, democratic left critics consistently tend to treat the Swedish case much more ambivalently.

Having spent September in Stockholm, immersed in Swedish social democracy, I am more than ever convinced that Sweden is an exception to the social democratic rule of merely reforming capitalism. I found that the Swedish socialists do believe in the need to move beyond social democracy, are in the process of formulating that road towards a more truly democratic socialist society, and, most striking, are confident that they will perhaps be the first to approach the kinds of changes in basic social relationships that Karl Marx and democratic socialists ever since have been striving for.

I say approach, not achieve, because neither I nor the Swedish socialists have any illusions about the possibility that a small nation—almost totally dependent on a troubled international capitalist economic order—can alone establish an island of socialist utopia. Nevertheless, within the more controllable domestic setting, the Swedish socialists are moving steadily on, and are far from acquiescent vis-a-vis those international constraints.

One reason the Swedish socialists have not unanimously been recognized as a socialist model is their style, which is long on common sense and practicality and short on ideological rhetoric. If Palme's speeches to the Congress can be summed up as "long live collective capital formation," and Felipe Gonzalez' (leader of the Spanish Socialists) as "long live democratic socialism, long live the free people," we know which speech is more memorable, which message gains more popular attention. Yet that bland Swedish style has brought results.

In their latest program (1975), the Swedish socialists explain that they stand for a socialism based on liberty, equality, solidarity, democracy, and work.

•**Liberty**, meaning the removal of economic, social and political impediments to the liberation of all people.

•**Equality**, meaning the equal worth of all human beings.

•**Solidarity**, as the weapon of the weak in their fight for justice, as a foundation for security and community. Solidarity demands that "each should give according to his ability and receive according to his needs."

•**Democracy**, meaning universal parti-

cipation in the transformation of society and the assumption of that responsibility by all.

•**Work**, as the foundation of all well-being and the nation's most important asset, work according to one's capacity, work that can be experienced as meaningful, work in a social context whose fruits of labor are used to satisfy individual and common needs.

These have been the party's guiding principles for almost a century. And within that time, the Swedish socialists distinguish three "stages" toward the fulfillment of those socialist principles—the stages of political, then social, then economic democracy.

Like most European working-class movements, the Swedish socialists were initially influenced by Karl Marx. From him, they (more than many others) retained a fundamental lesson—it is for the workers to emancipate *themselves* from their social distress and to transform society. Not unlike other European working-class movements of the time, this meant a political party strategy of close alliance with the trade unions and other working-class associations, and a rejection of revolution by violent means for a revolution by peaceful, parliamentary means. From its founding in 1889, the Swedish Social Democratic party fought until 1918 to achieve its first goal—universal suffrage.

Stage II, social democracy, became possible with the advent of the party to governmental power in 1932. For the next three decades the party laid the foundations of the now famous social democratic welfare state—full employment, pensions, family, health, housing, vacation, educational benefits—in short, a higher standard of living for all and a fairer distribution of the results of production. By the late '60s, Sweden not only had the highest GNP per capita of all industrialized nations, but also the most egalitarian distribution of GNP.

Then came the message of 1968—material well-being is not a sufficient answer to spiritual malaise, to alienation in advanced industrial societies—specifically, alienation felt by an increasingly educated workforce in its productive life. Thus the Swedish socialists have turned their attention since the early '70s to Stage III—economic democracy. Economic democ-

cracy will allow a "break with capitalist logic"; economic democracy will allow the full flourishing of political and social democracy.

The debate on economic democracy is not new. The party's Marxist roots had long made socialization of production a final goal. Yet since 1932, the party placed more emphasis on indirect public control (via Keynesian economics) than on public ownership. As a result, Swedish industry remained 90 percent privately owned in the '60s (with 6 percent cooperative ownership, 4 percent state ownership), but due to extensive development of social services, over 50 percent of the GNP passed through the public sector.

Beginning in 1971, however, the Palme government passed a series of bills designed to increase workers' rights in the management of their workplace (health and safety standards, job security) and to widen the sphere of trade union activity. In 1976, prior to the government's defeat, a Co-Determination Bill gave the workers broader veto power, further tipping the configuration of power to the side of labor.

In the meantime, the LO, the party's large blue-collar trade union affiliate, had taken the first steps in the present movement by Swedish socialists from "democratization of control" to actual "socialization of ownership." Its 1971 plan for Wage-Earners' Investment Funds had been informally endorsed by the Swedish Social Democratic party in 1976 and the recent Congress formally adopted guidelines for its implementation at the 1981 Congress.

The plan stipulates that every year, around 20 percent of profits of the largest companies (over 500 employees) would be turned over to an employees' investment fund as non-marketable collective shares. This would begin a 20-25 year process of change-over in terms of voting power that would culminate in workers' ownership of their enterprises.

The party stresses that this is not the usual profit-sharing scheme proposed by "enlightened employers," in that individual workers would not pocket more money. The object is to allow workers to make collective investments decisions that affect job creation (Swedish socialists' number one priority), regional development, production and consumption

patterns in general.

This is not a model for workers' self-management in a system of purely "market socialism." For example, the recent Congress endorsed the principle of socialization of all banks in Sweden and called for a three-year study of how best to do this. If the Wage-Earners' Investment Fund was the only tool to be used, the (highly profitable) banks would rapidly become owned and controlled by their employees. But, as one former Minister put it, do we really mean to imply that bank clerks should decide national financial priorities?

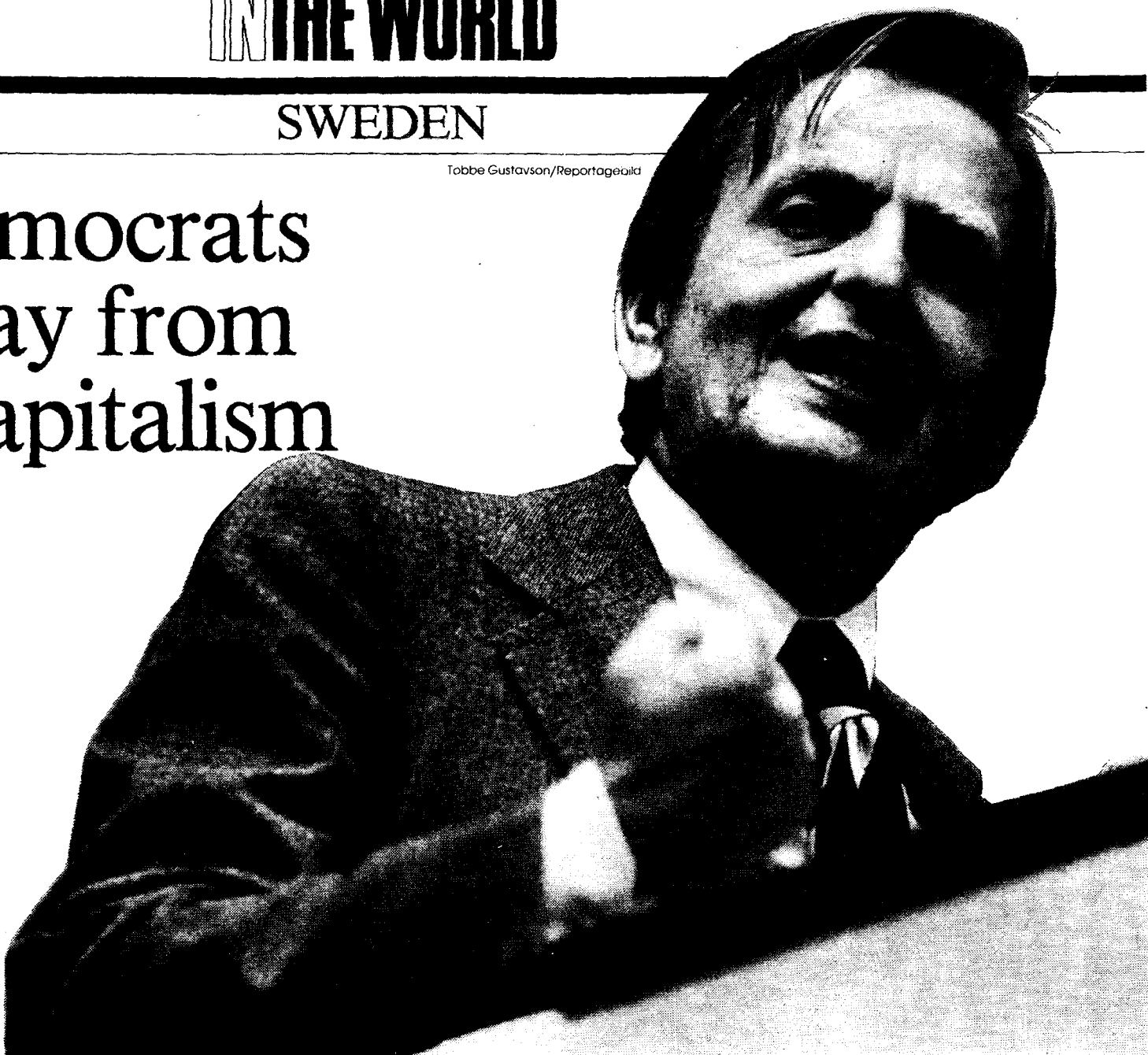
No. The party guidelines adopted on economic democracy stress a three-pronged approach: 1) increased economic planning of broad national priorities (via the government), 2) co-determination of conditions of work (democratization of the workplace), and 3) co-ownership of large companies via the Wage-Earners' Investment Funds to permit collective capital formation necessary for future economic growth and health.

At this point, we return to the Jamaican delegate's exasperation. Even assuming the goal of economic democracy can be reached, why do the Swedes take so long? After all, they battled 30 years for political democracy, 30 years for social democracy, and, according to their own projections, now expect a 30-year transition to economic democracy.

The Swedes repeatedly explained their patience to me in this way. We must never leave behind those we claim to speak for, we must have the people behind us all the time. The party can study, analyze, propose, but then it must *persuade its own* before it can accomplish, consolidate, then move on to the next possible step. If the 1976 election was possibly lost because the Wage-Earners' Investment Fund idea had not been fully explored or explained—yet was associated with the party—then the same mistake must not be repeated in the 1979 election. For this reason, the recent Congress postponed formal endorsement of the Wage-Earners' Investment Fund until 1981.

Left critics might label this "electoralism." It also just could be a deep commitment to popular democracy—a commitment consistently expressed even by those who consider themselves on the left

*Continued on page 18.*



Ex-prime minister Olof Palme, leader of the Social Democrats.



## NICARAGUA

# American press forced to slight popular rebellion

By Richard Elman

**N**ICARAGUAN SOLDIERS trained by the United States, with American and Israeli weapons, were murdering people in the streets of Leon, and Esteli, but in the American Embassy in Managua, the ambassador, a Cuban former professor of political science from the midwest, said he thought it would be an "exaggeration" to call what was happening "an atrocity." He would not be quoted, would only speak for background, and assured the press that he was making *demarches* (protests) about the worst of the "incidents" that had taken place, but all he would say—for the record—was that the United States was deeply concerned about the conflict on both sides in Nicaragua; and another embassy officer, who acted like the CIA station chief, even refused to be photographed, or have his voice recorded, when he read a statement by Hodding Carter Jr. from the State Department in Washington to the press.

In Nicaragua the American press was up against three formidable groups of adversaries: the Somoza government and its National Guard; the official U.S. presence; and its own ignorance and propensity for clichés.

The press, with some exceptions, was courageous but poorly informed about issues and factions and tended to be leery about depicting a "struggle for liberation" in any but the most hackneyed terms.

Some examples:

All refugees were treated as bewildered victims whenever they were encountered, whereas in fact some were highly politicized by the bombardments and atrocities and tried to express their views to the press whenever they encountered them, only to be "tut-tutted" and clucked at sympathetically, in print and on camera.

## Celluloid war.

The press made such a clear-cut division in their minds between the fighters and the people—the so-called "terrorists" (or revolutionaries) and the rest of the populace—that they were unable to comprehend where all the fighters had gone when the battles were over, or how the battles had begun, or if and when they would begin again. The war they wrote about, no matter what they saw, was being waged by virtual aliens in a country of simple folk.

The American press was cheered and comforted by the opportunities for taking photos, movie film, and video tape. But if an action could not be caught on film it was considered not to have existed. At the very same time that battles were going on in most of the large cities of Nicaragua, there were small actions by guerrillas taking place in most of the outlying *barrios* of the capital, Managua. These battles were important since they involved the implantation of arms and insurgents within the capital where any decisive battle will eventually have to be fought. But since most of these "actions" and *tiro-teos* (firefights)—which diverted the Guard—took place at night, when a curfew was in effect, they went largely unreported. They did not and could not provide the press with spectacular footage of ruins and burning bodies. The risks were great to find out about such matters at night, but very few even bothered to check out what had happened the night before with people in the *Barrios* the next morning. Even fewer made use of their access to the opposition paper, *La Prensa*, which had correspondents in all the *barrios* and was an invaluable source of such information.

Another aspect of the story that was difficult for the press was how to depict the National Guard of Nicaragua. I can speak from personal experience that it is a little disarming to come across soldiers in American-style combat fatigues and U.S. and Israeli weapons and helmets, some speaking good English, joking, flirting, without feeling some tug at one's allegiances, even when one knows from personal experience that these are a killer elite of "mercenaries" and "grafters" (*morditistas*). One wants to be fair and make every allowance at first, and even tell their side of the story, except that they are not who they seem to be. They are not a bunch of clean-cut wholesome young men going about their business, but a *Droit Commun*, as the French say, riff-raff. They are the rootless flotsam of the jails, without any ties to the people, and hated by one and all.

## Legal murderers.

The press and the Guard were enemies in almost every encounter, but when the press depicted the Guard they often gave them more lineage and footage than they gave to the real combatants of the war, the ordinary people of Nicaragua. It was as if few if any of us could allow ourselves to believe that the people who were "legally" responsible for protecting our lives were also murderers. So we continued to look for other explanations. Perhaps they were only tired, overworked, or just doing their jobs. This view was further aggravated by the fact that one was accredited by Somoza's government to cover the war through the Guard's office of Law and Public Relations.

Nicaragua was one of the few places I know of where large numbers of the press witnessed any of the war from behind rebel barricades, and that gave their coverage power and passion: Nothing like being shot at with weapons supplied by your own taxpayers to make your political ideas turn around a little. But when it came time to abstract from the violence and terror and formulate political conclusions, the press turned timid again: They witnessed genocide and recommended a cease-fire; they saw the unevenness of the weaponry directed against the Nicaraguan people but few among them suggested that the people should be supplied with better weaponry; they saw and felt, viscerally, the suffering of the people and the stiffening of their resistance, and were irritated by their political positions when they surfaced. During the most intense moments of fighting, when the leadership of the Broad Opposition Front, or 12, announced the formation of a "provisional government" from exile in San Jose, Costa Rica, the CBS correspondent was heard to exclaim publicly, with annoyance, "They have a lot of *chutzpah*."

## Vivid myopia.

The press would have been happiest with a government run by the business community, without the Somozas (called "Somocism without Somoza"), or by well-mannered liberals and conservatives, like themselves. They were discomforted by the anger of the Nicaraguan people, and so they tended to portray it as either grief, or bewilderment. They did not consider the possibility that people without shirts and ties and bank accounts and college educations could have political ideas, or, if they did, then they must be "Communist."

There is a small but strong and well-organized Marxist-Leninist faction within the Sandinista front, but nobody bothered to find out what their ideas were beyond labelling them Marxists, though their spokesmen were present and made them-



It was disarming to come across friendly National Guardsmen in U.S. army combat fatigues, knowing they were a killer elite.

selves available at press conferences. Faced with so much violence, criminality and intimidation from official sources, and so much vacillation from the American embassy, and a language gap, and a cultural abyss, the establishment press that came to Nicaragua did take risks and stuck their necks out. But with vivid words and pictures they sought to prove that an ongoing struggle for liberation against a despotic and criminal dictatorship was well-intentioned, if misguided and probably self-destructive.

It was as if, finally, after seeing so

much, very few reporters bothered to consider that the people were acting irrationally for rational reasons—because they really and truly hated the system that they had been forced to live with for 41 years. And few reporters considered the possibility that the Nicaraguan people had some clear ideas of what to do about their dilemma.

Richard Elman spent three weeks in Nicaragua in September on assignment for *GEO* magazine and is a novelist, poet and social critic who has published numerous books and magazines.

## VATICAN

# New Pope may aid left

By Gary MacEoin &amp; Nivita Riley

This issue goes to press just as the world is attempting to digest the historic news that the Roman Catholic church is headed by a man whose life experience has been as a church leader in a socialist state. A bishop for 20 years and cardinal archbishop of Krakow, Poland, since 1967, Karol Wojtyla is a remarkable person. Gradually modifying the aggressive opposition of veteran Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski to Poland's socialist regime, he has succeeded in establishing a reasonably stable equilibrium between the Catholic church and a state based on Communist principles.

A detailed analysis must wait until next week. Here we can merely hint at some of the major implications. An immediate one is the impact on Eurocommunism and in particular on Italian politics. The new pope is not a socialist. But the fact that he comes to Rome from a church alive and well under a socialist regime cuts the ground from under the Vatican claim that a government of the left would be destructive of religion in Italy. The Italian Conference of Bishops can scarcely repeat its insistence that Catholics are bound in conscience to

vote for the Christian Democrats. One can expect the Catholic vote for left-wing candidates to jump considerably from the eight million level of the last election.

The Catholics who have already publicly opted for socialism in Latin America and elsewhere in the Third World (they include a significant number of bishops) also automatically have their position strengthened.

It will take time, but gradually Roman Catholics and others in the U.S. will be forced to substitute reason for rhetoric in their vested-interest opposition to socialism. The taboo elements are bound to recede, facilitating the start of serious national dialogue.

All of this seems to us independent of what attitudes John Paul II adopts as Pope. They are inherent in the new objective situation. Next week we will try to evaluate some of the specific changes John Paul II is likely to bring to the papacy and the church.

Gary MacEoin's latest book, *The Inner Elite*, is a sociological evaluation of the 111 cardinals who elected Popes John Paul I and II. Nivita Riley has worked with the official church structures in different countries in religious education and community development.



## AUSTRALIA

## The best and worst of imperialism

## PART ONE

By William Appleman Williams

A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF Americans have either emigrated to Australia or dreamed of escaping to that frontier. I was very close to signing on the bottom line in 1947: my visceral anger about the bomb and the treatment of blacks and browns in the U.S. pushed me into the Consul General's Office in San Francisco. But I guess people raised in Iowa during the hard times prefer to dump milk along their own road.

Now, 30 years later, having recently spent nine months in Australia, I have the same ambivalent thoughts and feelings: it would have been (was) a fascinating experience, but I am glad that I chose to make my stand here (and to return). Dumping milk on the superhighway does say something that needs to be said.

When asked to summarize my response to Australia in one sentence I say, as I did of America in Australia, that it displays the best and the worst of imperialism. The respective worsts and bests are both similar and dissimilar enough for each society to learn from the other. But I see little evidence that either of us is in a mood to learn much of anything from anyone.

There is currently something of a mania among Australians to explain their troubles in terms of one non-event and one very traumatic event. The *blah* is defined by the lack of a revolution during two centuries of existence. The *biggie* is the constitutional *coup d'état* engineered by the Liberal Party Leader Malcolm Fraser and the Governor General Sir John Kerr in November 1975 to remove Labour Prime Minister Gough Whitlam from power.

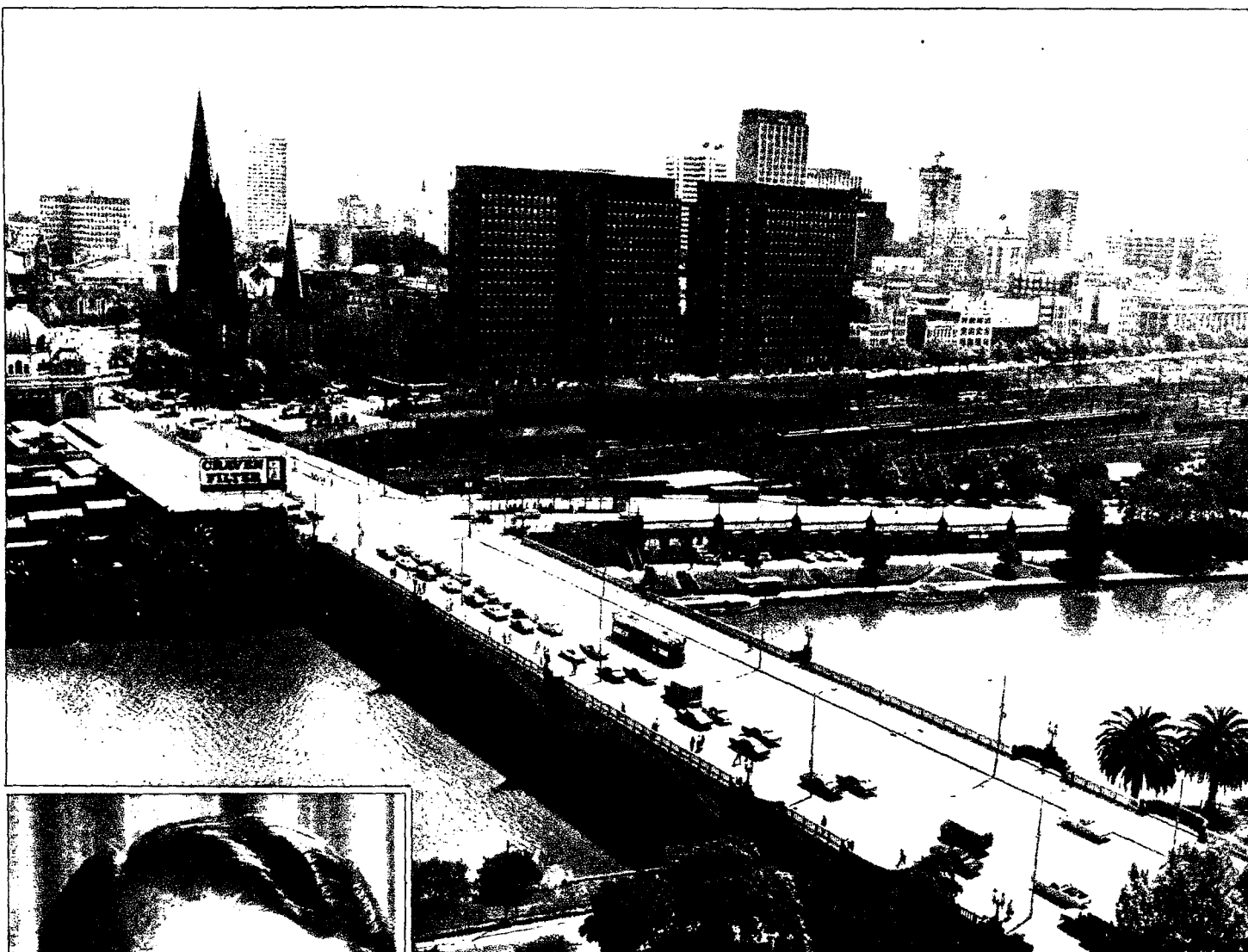
The awareness of never having made a revolution is worried like a black bone by the intellectuals as they confront the question of how to celebrate the nation's bicentennial in 1978. But the issue also surfaces in different forms in the pubs, trams, markets, and over-the-fence neighborhood conversations. One soon learns that the question is intimately entwined with several others: beginning as a dump for convicts, killing almost all the native blacks, and (as among many Americans) the disorientation born of realizing that one is no longer part of the grandest and most noble empire in the history of the world.

## The Great Barbecue.

The coup that removed the Labour Party from power shook the entire society. Even the conspirators had crossed themselves before the altar of Australian freedom and democracy. There are some fascinating parallels with the way that the American establishment managed to remove Richard Nixon by bypassing both the letter and the spirit of the Constitution—thereby avoiding an honest-to-god cultural crisis. Viewed from the top (which *does* define the view from the bottom), both circumstances were handled very adroitly by both ruling classes.

But, like we Americans, most Australians sensed that they were being contemptuously manipulated by hypocritical appeals to their honest sense of community and patriotism. I am even more skeptical of formal and systematic psychological interpretations of societies than I am of those which purport to tell us the whole truth about individuals; but I do agree with those who suggest that people in both societies are struggling with the knowledge that they *allowed themselves to be had*. That all of us sat on our butts by the barbecue while the elite transformed a Saturday Night Massacre into a Sermon About How the System Worked to Save Us from a Fate Worse Than Death.

The Liberal victory in the election im-



Above: Melbourne skyline. Below: Malcolm Fraser, Australia's Liberal PM.

mediately after the coup can be explained by the shock factor, but my major point was strikingly confirmed by the election of December 1977. Fraser, who makes Nixon look the bumbling Hitler that he was, had the grit to challenge Labour in the midst of destroying social reforms and at a time of high inflation and unemployment. Labor mucked-around with Whitlam like the Democrats diddled along with George McGovern. Whitlam had destroyed himself by acquiescing in the coup in the name of democracy and constitutionality, just as McGovern believed that the nice guys always won. The Liberals (and their reactionary allies, the Country Party) displayed the same ruthless indifference even to classical form that Gerald Ford exhibited in pardoning Nixon. And so the people voted early in the morning for the inevitable and went off to the beach or the bush to forget their complicity by indulging in the sun and the booze and the scenery and the sex.

That is not a put-down. By no means. After all, we did a very similar thing in 1976 despite our vaunted revolutionary tradition. Anyone who could vote for Jim-

## Australia, which began as a dump for convicts, has never had a revolution.

my Earl Carter, Jr., let alone Gerald Ford, could vote for Fraser with a clear conscience—even some enthusiasm. Fraser was honest enough to make it clear that the people who owned the country were determined to continue ruling the country.

## Dialectical soft porn.

That makes good capitalistic sense, and most Australians are loyal consumer capitalists. Either you make a revolution or you take your piece of the action. One can make a very persuasive case that most Australians sensed the nature and dynamics of modern corporate and imperial capitalism long before the average American awoke from the dream of endless frontiers. Consider only their labor laws at the turn of the century which enforced arbitration in a court presided over by a man of the corporate cloth.

The lesson is obvious: if you are not going to make a revolution, then lay back and enjoy the capitalist empire; focusing your left-over energy on the issues (such as wages, leisure, parks, and preserving old Victorian mansions) that threaten to limit your pleasures. Mr. Robert Hawke (a symbol?), the only charismatic figure wandering the desert of the Australian left, refused to stand for election in a guaranteed constituency. A bit boozed-up, he mustered the courage to admit that he did not have the time or the commitment or the patience to work his way to the top of the Labour Party.

Let us change idioms. There is a powerful Australian film called *Don's Party* (from a play by David Williamson) that makes all these points with great élan. The first time I saw it I was fascinated by the audience—a full house. They laughed uproariously at the beginning and then the theater became as quiet as a Russian Orthodox tomb. So I returned and learned a bit: you know, the *doing* of history. The story involves one of the few serious dialectical uses of soft porn in my memory. A party planned to celebrate a Labour

Party victory disintegrates into random fucking, and inane talk about female and male liberation, *even before it is known that Labour has lost*. It ends with the hero-bastard sitting in a child's swing on the morning-after while his wife calls from off-stage for him to come to bed. That is what I mean about the dialectical use of soft porn: the one *real* bed is off-stage.

But there is also another Australian film, *Walkabout*, which offers (like Morris West's first novel, *The Naked Country*) a searing commentary about Australians knowing in their soul about the despicable treatment of the native blacks and their own white women. Here nakedness is used to tell us about truth and beauty and commitment and morality. There is a hunger—at once sad and magnificent—to translate those themes into the cleansing myth. No Australian has yet found either the idiom or the poetry, but Patrick White (he is very good) comes close in his novel about *A Fringe of Leaves*. The pop, pornish treatment is offered in the movie *Eliza Fraser* (again from a scenario by Williamson and feeble stuff).

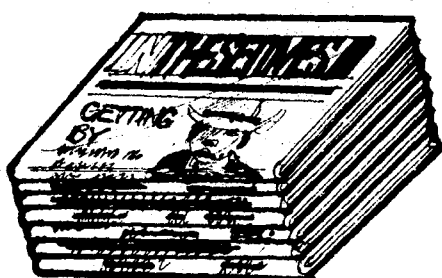
A poised, attractive white woman makes a marriage of convenience (to return to England) to an incompetent and unbearable ship master who shipwrecks them off the coast of Queensland (reality and symbol). She is captured and lives with the aborigines until rescued by white Australians. She desperately wanted to be rescued—or did she??? It is so close to soap opera nonsense that it requires a genius to save its truth. Australia has not found that genius. No more than America.

I will discuss the day-by-day realities of living in Australia in my next report.

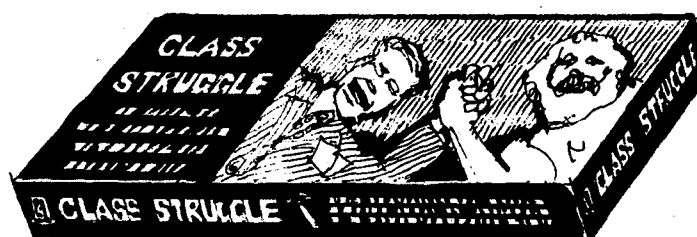
William Appleman Williams is Professor of History at Oregon State University and president-elect of the Organization of American Historians. He is the author of *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, *The Roots of the Modern American Empire*, and, most recently, *Americans in a Changing World*.



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1971 (?) Ralph Lopez, 20, San Antonio, Texas: Shooting  
 1971 (?) Augustine Martinez, 16, San Antonio, Texas: Shooting  
 1972 (?) Danny Villareal, 17, San Antonio, Texas: Shooting  
 1973 (July 24) Santos Rodriguez, 12, Dallas, Texas: Shooting  
 1975 (Sept. 14) Richard Morales, 26, Castroville, Texas: Shooting  
 1976 (June 11) Barlow Benavidez, 26, Oakland, Calif.: Shooting  
 1977 (Feb. 28) David Dominquez, 18, West Covina, Calif.: Shooting  
 1977 (May 5) Joe Campos Torres, 22, Houston, Texas: Beaten and Drowned  
 1977 (May 18) Juan Veloz Zuniga, 38, Sierra Blanca, Texas: Beaten  
 1977 (July 30) Arthur Espinosa and James Hinojos (?), Denver, Co.: Shooting  
 1977 (Nov. 6) Tirburcio Santome, 37, Garden City, Texas: Shooting  
 1977 (Dec. 8) Juanito Galaviz, 19, Big Spring, Texas: Shooting  
 1978 (Jan. 10) Larry Losano, 27, Odessa, Texas: Beaten

# THE TEXAS MURDERS

Richard Morales was killed at least three times—once by the sheriff, once by the wife and daughter and once by a Texas court.

BY CARLOS MORTON

There are two things these men and boys had in common: they were all of Mexican ancestry and they were all killed by the police. None of them were revolutionaries or dangerous criminals. Some were drowned or beaten, most were shot. The majority of the cases occurred in Texas, four took place in Colorado and California—all within the pacific decade of the '70s.

The situation in Texas has led one civil rights attorney to remark, "Why, it's worse here than it was in Mississippi in the early '60s, and we've got the body count to back it up!" According to San Antonio attorney Ruben Sandoval, who supplied some of the above casualty list, "The cops always say, 'He was coming at me with a knife,' yet the bullet holes are always in the kid's back."

Sandoval, at 37, is overweight and overworked. He will show you the tatoos on his legs and the scars on his body from the knife fights when he was growing up as a gang member in the tough lower class barrios of El Paso. As a young man he worked for the fire department before becoming a lawyer in 1969. He is considered by his critics to be "abrasive, rude egotistical, and quick to shoot his mouth off," and by his admirers as being in the forefront of civil rights cases involving police brutality in the country.

A case that Sandoval handled, that of Richard Morales, is an example of "neogenocide." This September marks the third anniversary of Richard Morales' death. When a friend of mine sent me a newspaper clipping telling how Morales was taken at gunpoint to a lonely country road and shot down in cold blood by the local sheriff, I was aghast. When I read that the sheriff's own wife and daughter transported and buried the body 400 miles away in a cover-up attempt, I was sickened. But when I read that the state courts had only convicted Sheriff Frank Hayes of aggravated assault, and his wife Dorothy of "tampering with physical evidence" (she was fined \$49.50 in court costs), I felt like throwing a bomb.

Instead, I wrote a documentary play taken from newspaper clippings, court transcripts, and interviews entitled "Las

*Continued on next page.*



Many Muertes de Richard Morales," the many deaths of Richard Morales. Many deaths because they killed him at least three times: Once by the sheriff with a .12 guage sawed-off shotgun, once by the wife and daughter in the burial attempt, and once by the lenient sentences in the Texas court of law. It was also many deaths because Richard represented scores of Chicanos in this country who have been harassed, beaten, and killed by the police.

I myself have been arrested at least half a dozen times on what I felt were trumped up charges: Once in a Greyhound station in San Antonio while waiting for a friend (loitering in a public place), and once for sitting on a wall in a vacant lot in San Juan Bautista, Calif. (drunk in public). Could it have been my initial attitude towards the officers? And yet I cannot help but feel that had I been white I would not have been rudely handcuffed and thrown about in both cases.

There was the time I was detained, stripped, and searched while crossing the International Border in El Paso by the U.S. Border Patrol who then called in the FBI for further interrogation. My only crime was wearing a new suit and driving a fancy rented car. But the culmination of my "criminal" career occurred in 1970 when I was called before the Grand Jury of El Paso to answer charges of police brutality stemming from a series of narcotics raids by plain clothes police. My mistake was writing an article critical of the police for the student newspaper at the University of Texas where I was a student.

### *This is the story of Richard Morales:*



## THE KILLING AND THE COVERUP

(According to Court Testimony)

This sleepy Texas town of 2,000 calls itself "The Little Alsace of Texas" because some of its first European settlers came from that district of France in 1844. However, the original Tejanos (mixture of Spanish and Indian) have been in the area since the middle of the 18th century. Castroville is in Medina County and half of the 21,000 population is Mexican-American. San Antonio, in Bexar County, is only 24 miles away.

Richard Morales was a 26-year-old unemployed construction worker who lived in Castroville with his common law wife Maria. Richard was one of ten children, reared in poverty, who never got past the sixth grade. He was once sentenced to three years probation for burglary, arrested and thrown in jail for drunken driving, and picked up for questioning about other robberies. When construction

jobs were hard to find, Richard picked crops in the fields as his father before him.

Frank Hayes, 52 years old, was the Police Chief of Castroville. He was hired on September of 1969 at a salary of \$450 per month. He served 20 years in the Air Force and retired as a Senior Master Sergeant. Small Texas towns often hire pensioners as they are the only ones who can afford to take the relatively low-paying jobs.

SUNDAY, SEPT. 14, 1975

**9:30 P.M.** Chief Hayes and a fellow policeman had been working all day on a burglary case which they suspected Morales had committed. After drinking margaritas at his police friend's house, Hayes returned to his trailer home where he heard over his home police radio that his deputy, Donald McCall, was arresting Morales on two outstanding misdemeanor or theft warrants. He told Dennis Dunford, his future son-in-law, then 17, to come along as a witness. "I'm going to shoot three or four times, but don't worry," said Hayes to Dunford. "I won't get you into any trouble."

**10:25 P.M.** Upon arriving at the Morales home, according to McCall, Hayes and Steve Worthy, a friend who was riding along with McCall that night, walked up to the patrol car, pulled Morales out of the back seat and began cursing at him. Hayes hit Morales in the stomach, shoved him against the car, and threatened his life.

"You're a thieving bastard, and I'm gonna kill your ass," Hayes said. He also said, "I've already killed one Mexican, and I'm going to kill me another one." The Chief then instructed his deputy to drive Morales to the Three-Point Station, a remote portion of Highway 90 outside of Castroville. Hayes followed them in his own car.

**10:40 P.M.** At the appointed place Chief Hayes got out of his car and instructed the deputy to threaten the suspect. "Tell him I'll kill him if he doesn't confess," said Hayes. "Tell him I'll shoot him if he does not tell the truth." Morales insisted that the stereo and TV were rented from a firm in San Antonio. The Chief became more and more infuriated and ordered the deputy to follow him in the car with Morales still handcuffed in the back seat. "I don't want to do it here," said Hayes, who drove on to an old gravel road five miles west of Castroville known as the Old Dunley School Road.

**11:20 P.M.** They all got out of their cars except for Dennis Dunford. Hayes told McCall to remove the handcuffs from Morales. Worthy handed the police chief his sawed-off shotgun and Hayes said, "Let the son of a bitch go. Uncuff him and let him run so I can shoot him. And turn off all the lights, I don't want any lights, no car lights, no flashlights, no cigarettes."

Hayes then told McCall and Worthy to leave the scene. Dennis Dunford saw the Chief strike Morales with the butt of the shotgun in the stomach. Hayes struck Morales again with the barrel and Morales put his hand up, trying to fend off more blows, when a muffled blast was heard. Hayes had shot Morales under the left armpit with the shotgun at close range. Hayes walked back to his car and said to Dunford, "It was an accident, but no one will believe it."

**12:30 A.M.** Mike and Estella Morales, Richard's parents, had been told by Maria Morales that their son had been arrested. The Morales family went to the county jail where they were told by Medina County Sheriff Charles Hitzfledler to go home, as Richard had probably escaped and was out hiding in the fields.

**1:30** Chief Hayes ordered Dennis Dunford to help him switch the body of Richard Morales from the floorboard to the trunk. Then Hayes and Dunford washed the mats and the car free of blood. Hayes asked Dunford to go with his wife and daughter to a ranch in Carthage to bury the body. Dunford declined. Hayes' wife, daughter, and sister-in-law, Alice Blad-

win (who is picked up in San Antonio) departed for Carthage, 400 miles away. Dunford returned to San Antonio and Chief Hayes went to bed.

**3:00 A.M.** The Morales family and a neighbor went out to the spot where Richard reportedly escaped. After having searched all night, Mike Morales and the neighbor found a pool of dried blood and a shoe belonging to Richard.

**12:00 P.M.** Dorothy Hayes, Alice Baldwin and Jeanne Hayes arrived at the burial site and dug a shallow grave in which they buried Richard Morales in a plastic bag. The grave was then covered with brush and fence posts.

**4:00 P.M.** Mike and Estella Morales, frustrated in their attempts to find Richard, went to the home of Chief Hayes. When presented with the news of the dried blood and shoe, Hayes told them that he would go immediately to the county jail to find out what was going on. When he arrived there he was detained by Sheriff Heitzfledler on suspicion of murder.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 16, 1975

**Sometime in the morning** Texas Rangers were called into the case by Sheriff Heitzfledler and they proceeded to San Antonio to arrest Dennis Dunford.

**Sometime in the afternoon** Chief Hayes and Dennis Dunford were officially charged with murder. Hayes was confined in the county jail in lieu of \$50,000 bond and Dunford was released on \$2,500 P.R. bond. The Hayes home was searched and the weapon and ammunition found.

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 17, 1975

**Sometime in the morning** A search was conducted for Mrs. Hayes at her home and place of employment. Acting on a tip they flew out to Carthage and located Mrs. Hayes who at first denied any wrong doing but subsequently lead them to a grave, three feet deep, at her brother's ranch where Richard Morales' body was found.

**Sometime in the afternoon** Mrs. Hayes was transported by car to the Medina County Jail where she was charged with Hindering Apprehension, a misdemeanor, and released on a \$2,500 P.R. bond. Alice Baldwin and Jeanne Hayes were not charged.

SATURDAY, SEPT. 20, 1975

Richard Morales was buried.

## INTER-MISSION

The murder and its cover up splashed like blood on the front pages of the newspapers. It was the story of the passing down of racism in an American family, a grisly ritualistic murder. Father takes son-in-law to the killing, mother takes daughter along to cover it up. A Southern version of *Macbeth*.

A series of marches and demonstrations swept over the Chicano community. The people were outraged to the point of rebellion, not only by the murder of Richard Morales, but other Chicanos as well.

"The police chief was known for his bad temper," said Mike Morales in an interview several years later, tears streaming down his face in recollection, "and it was common practise to take boys down that same lonely road and beat them."

"And my son was not a wild or abusive boy," said Mrs. Morales during the same interview. "He was raised on a rancho, and it wasn't until he was 20 that he started going out to the dances. And he was a hard worker. The day they killed him he worked. It was Sunday."

The stereo and TV Richard was alleged to have stolen was indeed rented from a firm in San Antonio. Maria Morales, who watched that night as police drove her husband away in the opposite direction from the county jail, said that Richard wanted to watch the *16 de Septiembre* (Mexican Independence Day) parade on

television as one of his brothers was riding horseback in it.

Even Sheriff Charles Heitzfledler, a law enforcement veteran of 27 years, told newsmen, "This is the most cold blooded murder I've ever seen."

## THE STATE TRIAL

Frank Hayes was released on \$50,000 two weeks after Richard Morales' funeral and hospitalized at Willford Hall, a government hospital, suffering from gastrointestinal disorders. Witnesses said he was free to come and go as he pleased. On Oct. 30, 1975, Hayes was indicted on a six-count capital murder charge and at his arraignment on Nov. 24 he pleaded "not guilty."

Marvin Miller, Hayes' defense attorney, argued for a change of venue at the arraignment on the grounds that excessive publicity had made it impossible for his client to receive a fair trial in Medina County. Miller's motion was based on a series of mass demonstrations which pictured his client as a "pig" and a "gringo racist."

Ruben Sandoval, who was hired by the Morales family because of his track record with civil rights cases, said that the change of venue was a defense tactic to reshuffle the jury deck in Hayes' favor. Sandoval pointed out that there was a much lower percentage of Mexican-American voters in Tom Green County, favored by the defense, than in Medina County, half of whose 21,000 residents were Mexican-American. Tom Green County is a white, Baptist enclave with strict anti-liquor laws.

Judge J.B. Smith sided with the defense and ordered that the trial be moved from Medina to Tom Green County.

Marvin Miller then tried to get Frank Hayes judged legally insane. On April 6, 1976, he submitted a letter to the court from a doctor claiming that Hayes was suffering from a chronic brain syndrome and could not be present that day and that neurosurgery was seriously being considered. Miller moved that a sanity hearing be set for May 24 and Judge Smith approved the motion despite Sandoval's protestations.

"Hayes could have been at court that day," complained Sandoval. "Witnesses saw him grocery shopping in San Antonio three days later. The defense hoped to get Hayes judged legally insane so he could beat the murder rap."

On May 24, 1976, a jury of his peers found Frank Hayes mentally competent to stand trial. Trial was set for July 8.

"Incidentally, during the time Hayes was out free on bond," recalled Sandoval, "the Morales family was being sued by the funeral parlor for expenses incurred in his burial."

Then there was the matter of the jury selection," he said bitterly, "of the 76 prospective jurors, only three were Chicano, and the defense used pre-emptory challenges to exclude them. The jury eventually selected consisted of 11 Anglos and an elderly black woman (ten women and two men.)

Marvin Miller made it a point to have a Mexican-American lawyer named Joe Valdez at his side as a consultant.

"That was just another tactic," said Sandoval, "so the jury would say, 'Well yes, Hayes killed a Mexican, but he's got a Mexican defending him. He can't be all that bad.'"

Frank Hayes took the stand during his trial and insisted that the shooting was accidental and that he was only threatening Morales so he would confess. Hayes said repeatedly that he could not recall much of what happened the night of the killing because of the effects of anti-depressant medication he had been taking.

Sandoval wondered what the combined effects of the Margueritas and the pills had on his behavior that night.



Hayes also had to take medicine to relieve almost "constant pain" from three bullet wounds suffered three years before in a shooting with two blacks who were robbing a liquor store. He testified on his behalf that this incident, "fighting for control of his gun and his life," as he put it, "caused me to struggle all the more with Morales."

## THE FEDERAL POST-MORTEM

Ruben Sandoval, who lists his religious preference as "Catholic," and his political party affiliation as "Democrat," called for an investigation by the Department of Justice. Sandoval argued that Justice had routinely entered such cases on behalf of blacks in the South, but had ignored similar injustices against Latinos, the second largest minority in the country with 12 million people. Justice Department officials at first cited a policy against dual prosecutions, and said they planned to take no action.

But the San Antonio lawyer, in his own dogged, pushy way buried himself deep into the ways of lobbying and began to push for an investigation. Immediately after the trial he prepared a detailed package on the Morales case and other related incidents involving Chicanos and police and sent them directly to then U.S. Attorney General Edward Levi. He called attention to it in the media and sent press releases and packets on the case to members of Congress.

Within weeks, Gov. Dolph Briscoe, Senators Lloyd Bentsen and John Tower, and a dozen Texas State Representatives had joined him in the call for a federal investigation. Texas Attorney General John Hill opened his own investigation when his interest was aroused by the apparent light sentence given Dorothy Hayes.

"The case has become tainted with politics," declared defense attorney Marvin Miller, "and they are beating a poor sick old man to death. But worse, if Frank Hayes gets indicted in federal court, it's going to intimidate every jury in this area." Miller meant that if the federal government tried Frank Hayes again, the will of the "community" would be superseded from above.

Back in Castroville, the mere mention of either Morales or Hayes brought grimaces to the faces of most of the 2,000 people in town. "I think most people, especially the Anglos," said a Chicana waitress in a local cafe, "want to forget the whole thing."

"People don't want to talk about it," said an Anglo bartender. "I think Hayes should have gotten more than he did. But you have to be very careful about what you say about it around here."

"There had been other killings in Castroville," said Mike Morales. "An Anglo killed two Chicanos in a local hotel. Hayes himself said he had killed a Mexican before and I wonder if that dead boy (Juan Rodriguez) Hayes said he found on the railroad tracks was really a suicide. But the people there, especially the Chicanos, won't say anything about the killings because they are afraid."

It was Sandoval's contention that the problem was not going to go away and that it had to be brought out in the open. "It's racial, but it goes way beyond that," he said. "It's the mentality that permeates this state that a badge and a uniform gives license to kill. The juries can't see beyond that uniform."

In August of 1976 Attorney General Edward Levi said that the policy of dual prosecution was under review and that additional facts in the Morales case had come to his attention. Levi's successor, Griffin Bell, issued new guidelines in

Feb. of 1977 and Frank Hayes, Dorothy Hayes, and Alice Baldwin were indicted by a federal grand jury at that time.

The federal trial was held in Waco, Texas, in September 1977, exactly two years after the death of Richard Morales. Sandoval, who was a spectator in the courtroom, did not like the weak line of questioning that Justice Department prosecutors Dan Rinzel and Karen Moore were using and started passing frantically scribbled notes to them.

"I got on the phone to Justice Department officials in Washington," said Sandoval, "and complained every hour or so that the prosecutors were hedging with their questions and not pressing the issues."

Attorney Dan Rinzel became so angry with Sandoval that they engaged in a shouting match during a recess and Rinzel threatened to have federal marshalls forcibly eject Sandoval.

Allegedly, a call was made to Rinzel from the Justice Department in Washington and he was instructed to proceed with a stronger line of questioning. Sandoval continued to pass notes. "The complexion of the trial changed after the first day," said Sandoval.

Frank Hayes, Dorothy Hayes and Alice Baldwin were all found guilty of violating the civil rights of Richard Morales in Waco on Sept. 30, 1977. Hayes was given life imprisonment, his wife, Dorothy, three years, and Alice Baldwin, 18 months.

Had justice finally prevailed? That was just one case, there were many other instances of police brutality buried in the back pages of obscurity.

### DALLAS, TEXAS JULY 24, 1973

Santos Rodriguez, 12, was sitting handcuffed in the front seat of a squad car when Officer Darell Cain put a .357 Magnum to the side of the boy's head. Cain wanted to know if the boy had robbed eight dollars from a gas station and was using Russian Roulette as an interrogation tactic.

"Oh my God," said Cain as he blew a hole into Santo's head. The officer later claimed that the shooting was accidental.

"That weekend after the shooting Dallas had its first riot ever," claimed the Rodriguez family attorney, Ruben Sandoval. "Violence erupted in downtown Dallas after the protest march."

Nearly 2,000 police were called to quell a three-hour long outbreak which caused substantial property damage, reported the newspapers. At least five policemen were injured and 39 protestors were arrested after a woman suddenly grabbed a microphone and began shouting, "Kill the pigs! Kill the pigs!"

At the state trial, Darell Cain, 30, was convicted of murder with malice and sentenced to five years in prison.

### HOUSTON, TEXAS MAY 5, 1977

Joe Campos Torres, 22, an ex-G.I., was arrested by police in an East Side cantina on charges of being drunk. The police would later claim that Torres was "kicking at the windows" of their squad car, and "cussing them out and spitting in their faces."

Five policemen decided to "talk some sense into him." In a parking lot by the Buffalo Bayou, they stood around in a circle and threw him, still handcuffed, on the ground. They also kicked him

and beat him with their fists and steel encased flashlights.

When they finally got around to taking him to the station, the desk sergeant took one look at Torres and ordered the policemen to take him to the hospital. Instead, they took him back to the Buffalo Bayou, a running sewer that undulates through the heavily industrialized city, and threw him in. "Let's see if the wet-back can swim," one of the cops said.

"The attitude of the cops was that if he had not been drunk or abusive, this wouldn't have happened," said Sandoval, who is involved in the federal indictment portion of this case. "In effect [the cops were] acting as judge, jury and executioner."

One of the cops, however, a 20-year-old rookie, did the unheard of and filed a report against the other five. All five were fired immediately, the rookie given immunity, but only two, Stephan Orlando, 22, and Terry Denson, 27, an ex-Marine, football letterman, and member of a national high school honor society, were tried for murder.

In the state trial an all-white jury found them guilty, not of murder, but of negligent homicide, a charge usually associated with traffic deaths. They were both fined one dollar and given one year's probation sentence.

Police brutality and the problems of it are not a franchise to the Mexican-American people," said Reuben Sandoval, who is married and the father of two children. "It happens to whites and blacks as well. We're actually talking about human rights and a double standard of justice. If a citizen kills a cop, it's life in the pen or death. But if a cop kills a citizen, then it's only aggravated assault (Richard Morales), murder with malice (Santos Rodriguez), or negligent homicide (Joe Campos Torres)."

The Morales case, according to Sandoval, "broke the veil where police officers were unaccountable to anybody." Other federal indictments followed quickly after the breakthrough.

In October of 1977 the Department of Justice decided to indict four of the five policemen involved in the beating and drowning death of Joe Campos Torres in Houston.

In December of 1977 the Department of Justice decided to re-examine the Santos Rodriguez case and to review alleged civil rights violations by two former Dallas policemen in the shooting death of that 12-year-old boy.

Although Justice did not reopen the Santos Rodriguez case, in February 1978 former Houston police officers Terry Denson, Stephan Orlando, and Joseph Janish were convicted of depriving Joe Campos Torres of his civil rights by causing his death, a felony punishable by up to life in prison. They were also found guilty of the misdemeanor of beating the victim. Judge Ross Sterling gave then a ten-year suspended sentence on the felony count, and a one-year jail term for the misdemeanor.

"A slap on the hand," said Sandoval of Judge Sterling's sentence. "When they get out they still have the right to seek public office or to enter any of the professions."

A *Cinco de Mayo Fiesta* (May 5, 1978) a year and a day after the death of Joe Campos Torres turned into a riot in Houston's near northside after angry, stone-throwing Chicanos attacked police and newsmen. Cars were smashed and burned, a policeman was run down and his leg broken, and stores in the area were damaged and looted.

Texas State Senator Ben Reyes was quoted by the Associated Press as having said that "the seed for the riot was a federal judge's recent lenient sentencing of three officers convicted in the death of Joe Torres." Fifteen persons were carried to hospitals with injuries after the riot, including two newsmen and three policemen. Twenty-four persons were arrested.

"I tell you, we must stop this open season on Chicano meat before it is too late," said Sandoval, who is threatening to present evidence of police brutality against Chicanos to the International Press Association and to the United Nations. ■



## EDITORIAL

## A pure and simple road to socialism

Few people paid much attention to AFL-CIO president George Meany's statement back in 1974 that if there had to be economic controls at all he'd favor mandatory controls across the board—on wages and prices *and* on profits, interest rates, rents, executive compensation, and dividends. On the eve of Carter's announcement of a new anti-inflation plan, Meany has now repeated that position, more or less on behalf of the AFL-CIO leadership as a whole, and corporate executives, the business press, and senior federal officials are taking notice.

Whatever his ultimate intent, Meany's message is clear: Labor will go along with no government control over wages and prices or with virtually full control over the investment system, but not something in between that amounts in practice to no control except over wages. This represents the position, not of some mavericks on labor's left, but of labor's "moderate" leadership.

The implications of labor's "moderate" position must horrify business executives and pro-corporate politicians in something like the degree to which the implications of Lincoln's "moderate" stand against the extension of slavery horrified the Slave Power in 1860: Either make the system as it is work to the benefit of labor (in those days, to the benefit of the northern bourgeoisie) or change it drastically. The full controls recommended by Meany as "a least worse" alternative would mean opening the way to government displacement of the capitalist class as the arbiter of investment. To capitalists, that means socialism (whatever socialists may think it is)—the worst possible alternative.

For, if government assumes the control of the investment-price system, that system must then become the central issue of politics; it is exposed directly to democratic scrutiny and disposal, and labor and its allies will have every incentive to see that electoral politics work to make the investment system work to their interests. It will desanctify the dogma that the investment function is the peculiar affair of private profit-seekers, by making it the people's business. It will give new meaning to the idea of government of the

people, by the people, and for the people.

That is why it has been more comfortable—and politic—to pretend that Meany and labor simply oppose controls. It kept the issue submerged and out of public debate. In the meantime, Carter and his bipartisan allies—like Stephen Douglas and his in the 1850s—are searching for a middle ground, one of "voluntary restraints," a 20th century equivalent of Douglas' ersatz "popular sovereignty." As this middle ground will no more solve the inflation crisis of modern capitalism than Douglas' solved the crisis of the union, it continues to shrink (as did Douglas'), which is largely what the disarray of the two-party system is all about.

The more the partisans of the Corporate Way hold to their "middle ground," the more strongly labor is being pushed into posing the issue as no controls, which only extends and deepens the crisis, or full controls, and the higher go the political stakes of the inflation issue. The

"moderation" of pure and simple unionism, under the impact of new historical conditions, has become willy-nilly the "extremism" of a demand implying fundamental change.

Labor's weakness in all of this is that, unlike the Republican coalition of Lincoln, it has not built up a popular understanding of the issue at stake, a political strategy for settling the issue in labor's favor, or a broad constituency ready to move in alliance with it. This leaves to the corporate middle-grounders incomparably more room to maneuver than Douglas and his allies had. It underlies the much noted political malaise and apathy of the American people, as they are becoming fed up with the "middle-ground," yet see no alternative prospect in the present configuration of party politics. It also opens the door to the right which has not been hesitating to rush through it, and that lends all the more urgency to labor's need to quicken and deepen its political

initiative.

The labor movement, even its most conservative elements, show little or no sign of courting the political right. If anything, it is in the vanguard of warning against the dangers and perfdies of the political right. If it continues on that course, the venerable question of, "Why is there no socialism in the U.S.?" may soon give way to a whole new scholarly industry of exploring the question of how it came to be that pragmatic American pure-and-simple-unionism turned itself and America onto the path of socialism—even if not so pure and even if rather simple.

Long-time American socialists may be the last to acknowledge the question. But many of America's corporate managers are already either racking their brains on it or trying to keep it from gaining public notice. Others are losing little time in taking the yellow brick road to the right in search of a new wizard with a reactionary deal.

## Supreme Court leans right in First Amendment protection

The U.S. Supreme Court has upheld a federal lower court in ruling unconstitutional ordinances passed by the Skokie city council designed to prevent a Nazi march in that Chicago suburb. It also declined to review an Illinois Supreme Court decision that an injunction against a Nazi march in Skokie sought by resident survivors of the Nazi holocaust on grounds that the march would comprise an intentional inflicting of emotional distress upon them was unconstitutional.

For reasons argued in previous editorials, we think the U.S. and Illinois supreme courts' decisions are sound in protecting First Amendment rights, however odious its beneficiaries in this case.

The ordinances and the injunctions would have restricted everyone's liberty. If let stand, they would have reinforced precedents particularly injurious to the rights of labor, women's groups, blacks,

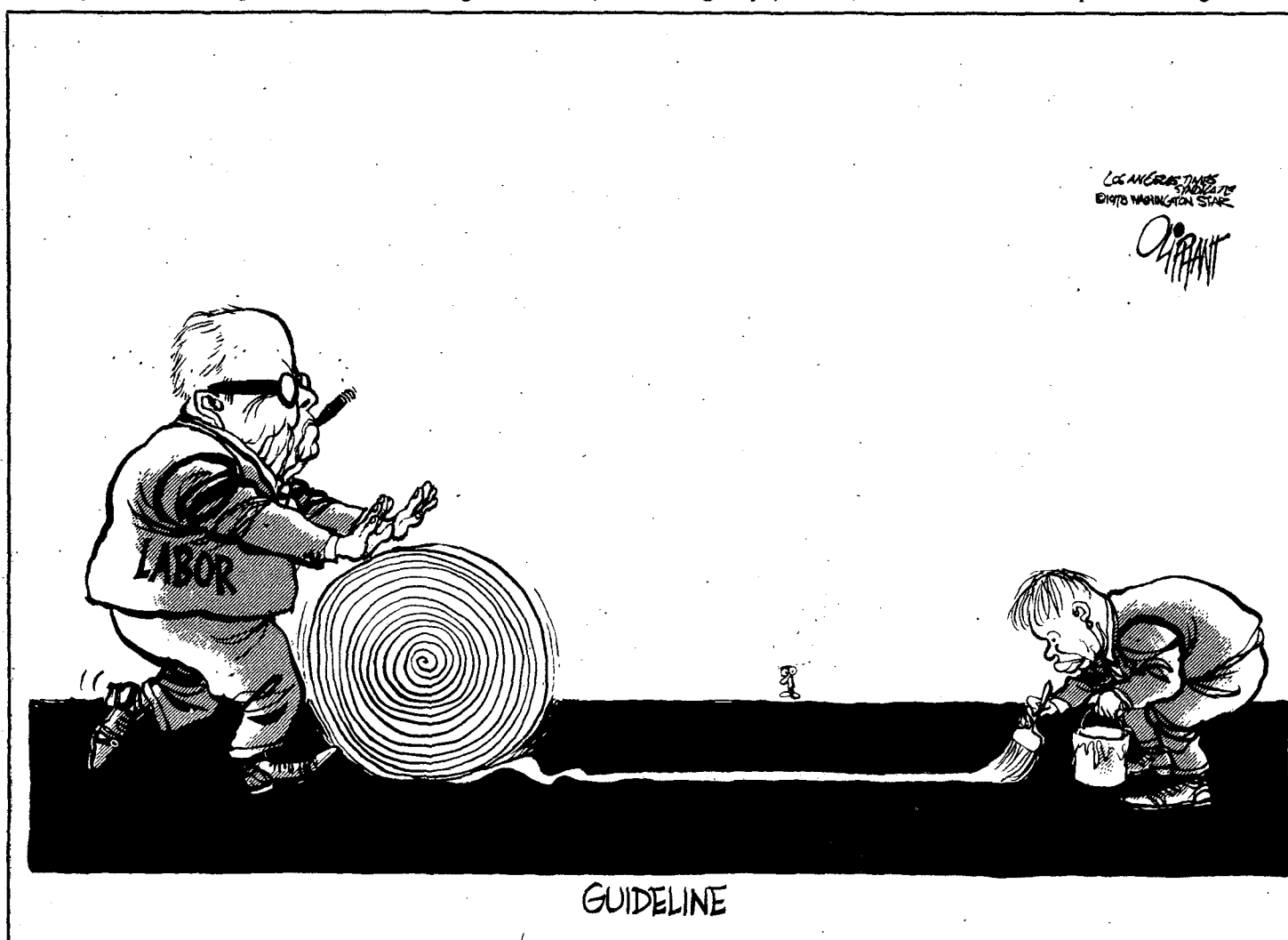
environmentalists, sex-preference proponents, and leftists of all persuasions, especially as the nation moves toward sharper conflicts in the near future. Such measures also tend to reinforce the illusion that protection against racism and facism can be safely reposed with state fiat restricting speech and association instead of through popular agitation, education and organizing.

Having praised the Supreme Court, we would add this large caveat. Since the beginning of this century, when labor-capital conflict increasingly displaced conflict among propertied groups at the center of national politics, the Supreme Court has more readily invoked the First Amendment protection of speech and association in cases involving rightists, racists and fascists than in those involving blacks, pacifists, leftists, and socialists.

The "clear and present danger" doc-

trine was invented by the liberal Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes to deny First Amendment protection to leftists in the World War I era. That not being enough, the Court then adopted the "grave and probable danger" doctrine (invented by the liberal federal judge Learned Hand) to deny First Amendment protection to Communists in the '40s and '50s. Even in upholding rights of leftists in the late '50s and '60s; the Court stopped short of doing so on First Amendment grounds.

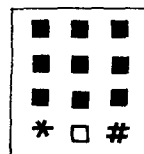
As long as the Supreme Court dispenses First Amendment protection so unevenly, it cannot escape the judgment that its deliberations, and American law, regarding civil liberties, are permeated by the class bias normal to the law in general in capitalist societies. In this respect, the U.S. is not "exceptional"—it has yet to establish the "equal liberty" that is celebrated in rhetoric but far from honored in practice.



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# DIALOG

## Gillespie responds to "sectarian" charge on steel union story

PERHAPS THE MOST CURIOUS ASPECT OF RUSS GIBBONS' response to *IN THESE TIMES*' coverage of the recent Steelworkers union convention (Oct. *ITT*, Oct. 19) was his fury at the use of a pen name. But so what? The most important thing about my article is its contents. Gibbons contended the convention was thoroughly democratic, one whose decisions accurately reflected the sentiments and opinions of the ranks. Several facts, however, indicate the contrary.

The primary requirement for all convention delegates is attendance at half or more of local union meetings during the previous two years. This rule effec-

tively excludes the vast majority of union members who, for one reason or another, do not attend local meetings.

Second, a sizeable number of the union's 5,200 local unions are too small to be able to afford to send anyone to conventions. In most cases, the credentials of these locals are picked up by staff representatives who can hold many such credentials, who are not even members of that local and who may hold different views than that local's members. Staff reps can make up more than one-quarter of the entire convention, as a result.

At the convention, the international president, not the delegates, appoints the committees that write the convention resolutions. Once those resolutions are presented to the delegates, they cannot be amended.

My article did not argue that union staff reps are incapable of representing the interests of the rank and file. But experience in the USWA and other unions indicates that they often do not.

Union staff reps, like top union officers, live a different existence from workers in the shop. This different environment shapes their outlook and opinions.

USWA staff reps are not elected by the members and accountable to them, but are appointed by the international

president. In addition, they are dependent on the president for their work assignments and future careers.

For these reasons, USWA staff reps are almost uniformly supporters of the administration and its policies, both in day-to-day activity and especially at convention.

Finally, Gibbons makes a serious mistake in writing off Ed Sadlowski's 1977 campaign and the continuing opposition to the administration's policies as useless "romanticism."

Even according to official union statistics, Sadlowski won 43 percent of the vote and an absolute majority in basic steel. Since the election, and certainly since the 1976 convention, the steel companies' drive to cut the workforce and increase production has greatly intensified. The union's defense of its members against this corporate offensive has been ineffective.

Regardless of the state of the organized opposition at any particular moment or convention, the ideas and sentiments that fueled the Sadlowski campaign have not disappeared, but have continued to grow.

Recognition of that growing sentiment for greater union democracy and militancy is not "left sectarian journalism" or a "looking glass" approach, but simply recognition of the facts.

—Michael Gillespie

# LETTERS

## BUT MURDER?

BEFORE *ITT* READERS SUPPORT THE California midwife accused of murder because the child she delivered in the parents' home subsequently died (*ITT*, Oct. 11), they should consider reporter Natasha Woolley's credibility.

We cannot comment on hospitals in California, but in Boston the fetal heart monitor is not used "only in cases of suspected complication." It often is employed as a standard safety measure, and in the case of our daughter's birth it detected a failing heart beat when there was no reason to suspect any complication.

Because the machine—whose use has been criticized by the home birth lobby—was being used, and because we were in a hospital that routinely used it, our doctor was able to react quickly and safely deliver our baby. At home, she would have been born into a far warmer and comforting environment; unfortunately, she probably would have been born dead.

Some of the current criticism against hospitals and doctors is certainly justified. But the situation is being exploited by self-proclaimed experts whose credentials are suspect. Today many people "take it upon themselves" to make medical decisions for their helpless children based on religious or other sectarian beliefs. The result is children who are denied proper medical treatment and therefore die.

That apparently is what happened last June in Los Osos.

—Michael Kort  
Carol Kort  
Cambridge, Mass.

## SKEWERED

LARRY REMER'S ACCOUNT OF THE Briggs Initiative (*ITT*, Oct. 4) contains the following perceptive remark by an opponent: "You can't look at the race in conventional political terms; our poll data indicate a *strange skewering of the electorate*." To be sure, this might be a misquotation, or a typo; but I like it as it stands. It captures vividly the pernicious nature of the campaign in support of the Briggs Initiative in particular, and against the rights of gays throughout the country.

That electorate has been skewered before: during the mid-'60s when I was liv-

ing in California, there was an initiative against open housing that was formulated so as to be unclear to many voters. Now as then, the distortions and misinformation with which the advocates of discrimination bombard the electorate indicate the sorry state of political debate. So being skewered may not be so strange after all; it may be what "conventional politics" is all about.

—Howard R. Cell  
Glassboro, N.J.

## PAY SOME ATTENTION TO THE REAL WORLD

AS AN *ITT* READER AND FORMER RELIGION editor of a major California newspaper for ten years, may I add a few points to your Editor's Note in response to a reader on religion?

•I wish the labor movement had stepped forward as early and as courageously to rouse the conscience of America against the Vietnam war as did the churches. I don't mean Unitarians and the historic peace churches (Friends, Mennonites, some Brethren), but the mainline Protestant denominations, plus some leading Roman Catholics. I could fill this issue with documentation.

•Who were all those people up front with Martin Luther King (a Baptist minister) on the cutting edge of Selma? Atheists masquerading as ministers, priests, nuns and rabbis?

In the city of Long Beach, Calif., 365,000, I can tell you that when the Kerner Commission issued its report on racism after the Watts Riots, there would have been *no* organized discussion of it if not for seminars organized by several churches, attended by hundreds of concerned young and older Christians.

Are your hostile readers not aware of the priests and nuns imprisoned, tortured and expelled by South American juntas? Have they acquainted themselves with the work of Clergy and Laymen Concerned?

You see, there's another biblical quote that motivates Christians besides "Render unto Caesar." It is "Obey God, not man." The tension between these two has risen steadily in our time.

It is one thing to hold a principled philosophical disagreement with the dogmas of religion, if that's your thing, and to take a dim view of much church narrowness. But pay a little attention

to changes in a changing world. With the National and World Councils of Churches under virulent attack by racists and hawks, it is an exercise in idiocy for progressives to join the attack on these noble and important people from the "left."

—Lester Rodney  
Torrence, Calif.

## EMPTY NAME CALLING

I DON'T MIND KAREN MOSHEWITZ RETURNING to the fray, but I certainly wish she would offer something more than the rhetoric and half-cocked accusations that fill her letters concerning religion, abortion rights and feminism.

She first posits that anti-abortion concerns are based on lies and superstition, then accuses their supporters of being members of the Catholic church, who "plot to dominate the United States and other countries." Anti-abortionists are also assumed to be anti-Semitic, an accusation that I am sure would take many "right-to-life" advocates by surprise, if not thoroughly revolt them. Ms. Moshewitz makes no attempt to substantiate any of her claims in either of the two letters I have read in *ITT*; I find her charges serious simply because it is exactly this kind of loud rhetoric that has swayed popular opinion in countless circumstances through the course of history, incurring tragedy for both Catholics and Jews.

I am in agreement with Juli Loesch: it is not mandatory that one be either atheist or pro-abortion to be sincerely feminist. Feminism (true feminism based on total humanism) attempts to break

down the prejudices that have been the source of human oppression; as Gregory Baum has noted, true faith (and sincere religion) attempts to do the same. This issue of abortion is not one that can be handled over the counter of equal rights concerns, not because, as one woman noted, to do so would be "political suicide," but because the implications of decisions in either direction are myriad. Let's not pass the buck on responsible decision-making, nor hide behind empty name-calling on either side.

—Adrian Gibbons  
Omaha, Neb.

## TOO TOUCHY?

IS IT AN EDITORIAL POLICY AT *ITT* TO censor the National Confederation of Workers (CNT), the Spanish anarcho-sindicalist labor union? Contacts with young workers and students during my recent two-month residency in Valencia, Spain, indicated that the CNT commands at least enough support to deserve mention in articles on politics and labor in Spain.

Yet at least two *ITT* articles, including "A Fist with a Rose in it," by Lucy Komisar (Sept. 27) ignore the CNT! While the CNT does not engage in electoral politics, its involvement with alternative education, university issues, and the anti-nuclear movement is unique among leftist parties and labor unions.

Are anarchists a subject too touchy? I expected better, unbiased coverage from a publication like *ITT*, and such an omission damages your credibility.

—Kathryn Partridge  
Idaho Springs, Colo.

## "Vote White" — George Wallace? Ku Klux Klan? NO, IT'S FRANK RIZZO.

Philadelphia's mayor, fondly known by Philly cops as "The General."

The General would like to keep his post. But to run for a third term, he has to change the city charter. His well-financed machine is going full steam to divide the city along racial lines and divert attention from the deterioration of Philly under his rule.

## BUT A LOT OF PEOPLE AREN'T BUYING...

The STOP RIZZO COALITION is a broad grouping of progressive organizations and individuals out to stop Rizzo in his tracks. Unfortunately, nickle and dimeing a campaign against a powerful reactionary politician is rough. You can help. \$25 will buy 1250 sample ballots. \$100 will cover a neighborhood leaflet.

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## MANNING MARABLE

## FROM THE GRASSROOTS

## Populist democracy takes a beating from Alabama blacks

THROUGHOUT SOUTHERN political history the Democratic Party has been roughly divided into two overlapping tendencies—populist vs. conservative. Populists have advocated state expenditures for educational and social programs, control over monopolies and greater participation of working class people in the government. Conservatives, who have also been known as

"Big Mules" or "Bourbon Democrats," have advocated minimal government involvement in social issues and a laissez-faire dictum toward business. Populists have represented laborers, small farmers and merchants; Bourbon Democrats, the industrialists, millionaires, large black belt planters and the urban middle class.

The major confrontation in Alabama between the populists and the conservatives occurred in the 1890s. The populists appealed to blacks who could still vote to support their progressive reforms. The Bourbon Democrats, who often held mortgages on black property, used their influence to maintain the status quo.

Populists were the victims of voter fraud, intimidation and corruption by the Big Mules. For 50 years, Alabama's government was dominated by major corporate interests.

Jim Folsom revived the Populist tradition during the 1940s and 1950s. Despite



his monumental personal shortcomings, Folsom was remarkably progressive for his time. Ironically, although his rise to power came as an overtly, race-baiting politician, George Wallace is also part of the Populist tradition of reformers. Wallace's strongest support came from the old Populist areas of the state: his most bitter enemies weren't just blacks, but many "fat cats" and large industrialists. In recent years the Governor attempted desperately to repudiate his racist image of the 1960s. He appointed blacks to his cabinet and to important positions within the state's educational system. Wallace received the support of many of the state's influential black politicians, including Tuskegee mayor Johnny Ford, in his successful bid for reelection in 1974. His black proponents reminded black voters that Wallace received the NAACP's official endorsement for his first race for governor in 1958; he had in the 1970s

simply returned to his original populist past, they insisted. Wallace's expenditures for education, roads and welfare were far above the previous administrations.

The recent Democratic primary election which for all practical purposes determines who succeeds Wallace as governor, was a battle between the "Three B's"—former Gov. Albert Brewer, Lt. Gov. Jere Beasley and Attorney General Bill Baxley. Brewer had narrowly lost the governor's race in 1970 to Wallace in a vitriolic struggle. Brewer had ample funds from the Nixon White House and received support from the overwhelming majority of black voters. Both Brewer and Beasley were bitter opponents of the Wallace administration, while Baxley was close personally to the governor.

Baxley attempted to rebuild a genuine populist coalition, combining most of Wallace's supporters, labor and black voters. Throughout the campaign he identified himself as an opponent of the state's industrial establishment, the Alabama Power Company and agribusiness. He had acquired the reputation as a democratic, principled politician among many blacks for his prosecution of white racists who bombed the Birmingham church in 1963, resulting in the deaths of four black girls. Quietly, Wallace informed his supporters and former financial contributors that he favored Baxley. Simultaneously, the Alabama Democratic Conference, the party's black caucus, also endorsed Baxley and campaigned vigorously for him.

Fob James was not, at first glance, a credible candidate for the Democratic nomination. Through 1976 he had been an important member of the Republican Party's state executive committee. He favored an approach to government similar to Barry Goldwater and Richard Nixon. As late as 1977, he informed campaign workers that President Carter was "too liberal," and that he had few enemies in electoral politics and many friends in the state's industrial and financial elite.

He toured the state in a pretentious yellow school bus, claiming that he "would never play politics" with educational issues. In the runoff election, he refused to debate Baxley or answer charges pertaining to his financial contri-

butions. Once again, Bourbon Democracy in the form of yet another conservative businessman-politician was pitted against populist democracy.

Both candidates appealed to black voters, but James was far more successful. James' people visited black communities, distributing "Fob James" sweatshirts and bumperstickers. James released employment figures showing that he had hired 600 black workers at his barbell factory in Opelika, paying an average salary of approximately \$8,500 annually. He observed that Wallace, the old racist, supported his opponent; he promised "to put behind forever the negative prejudices of the past," without committing himself to specific programs. On election day, Sept. 26, James succeeded in dividing the black vote. In Macon County (85 percent black), he totaled 4,304 votes to Baxley's 2,004. In other black belt counties James received between 45 to 60 percent of the vote.

Almost across the board, most black voters favored the state's agribusiness and industrial establishment. Mrs. Jim Allen, the wife of the deceased conservative Senator, ran for her husband's seat on an anti-Equal Rights Amendment, pro-defense spending platform. Her opponent, state senator Donald Stewart, campaigned on a moderate populist program reminiscent of Jim Folsom and Lister Hill. Statewide, Stewart upset Mrs. Allen; in Macon County, Mrs. Allen led 2,776 votes to 2,687 votes. In the attorney general's race, State Senator Joe Fine, known as a friend of the monopolistic Alabama Power Company, carried Macon County. Efforts by the local black Democratic hierarchy to reach black voters through educational campaigns similar to those in the 1960s were futile.

Baxley and the Alabama Democratic Conference failed to address the problem of Wallace's "racist legacy." They assumed, incorrectly, that given a choice between a moderate populist and a conservative industrialist, blacks would support the former. A coalition between poor, rural whites, labor and blacks is essential in building a more democratic society for Alabama, and throughout the region. What remains unsolved, after almost 100 years, is the correct political strategy to unite these groups.

## ROBERTA LYNCH

## Abortion, now legal, is still in a back alley of our consciousness

THE GROWING GRASS-ROOTS influence of the anti-abortion movement was dramatically brought home to me recently by the experience of a friend who teaches at a local community college. On the first day of school she distributed a questionnaire asking students' opinions on a number of current issues—taxes, responsive government, affirmative action, and unemployment among them. The response was largely overwhelming indifference. But on one issue these 18 year olds, of both sexes, from working class and lower middle class backgrounds, solidly agreed: They were against the right to abortion.

The women's movement has been saying for years that abortion is a simple medical procedure. And it is. But often it is not a simply psychological procedure. Or a simple social procedure. Or a simple moral procedure.

If my friend's questionnaire had cared to probe into her students' medical histories, it might have asked if they had ever had an appendectomy or a tonsilectomy or a hernia. They might have found such questions strange, but they would un-



doubtedly have answered truthfully and without complaint.

Had she included "abortion" on this list, however, the response would have been quite different. Who—given such widespread peer disapproval—would have dared to speak a simple truth about a "simple medical procedure"—"Yes, I have had an abortion."

It is this socially-enforced silence that provides much of the basis for the anti-abortion movement. Abortion may have come out of the back alleys in the eyes of the law, but it remains in the back alleys of our society's consciousness.

It is a religious sin for some and a social stigma for many more. It is a skeleton buried in family closets as diligently

as alcoholism or child abuse. And, in many cases, it is a trauma buried in a woman's life that feeds on personal guilt and public disapproval.

One central reason for this state of affairs is that abortion—unlike almost any other current political issue—is inextricably linked to sexuality. And, all polls and pundits to the contrary, we remain a nation mired in confusion about our sexual mores.

This ambivalence about the nature of sexuality is exhibited clearly in the anti-abortion movement's approach to birth control. Surely a movement that genuinely wanted to limit the number of abortions should want to make one of its primary concerns the prevention of unwanted pregnancies in the first place.

Yet, in reality, the anti-choice forces have placed almost no emphasis on sex education and contraceptive dissemination. And, in fact, many of their adherents have actively opposed such measures.

This attempt to make procreation the determinant of sexuality is reinforced by a small but growing number of avowed progressive people. They claim to oppose the legalization of abortion on the grounds that it contributes to governmental policies of population control.

While this argument may have some vaguely rational elements in terms of the population control policies that have been directed against minority people in this country, on the whole it borders on political lunacy. It essentially attempts to remove from the hands of an individual woman—or even from her social or political community—the question of whether she should bear a child, placing it instead in the hands of the very government whose legitimacy is in question.

None of this is to deny that there are real—and weighty—issues involved in the decision to have an abortion. It is a choice that few women make casually and that many make with real pain.

And there is no doubt that it is a course

of action that could be seriously reduced if we lived in a society that guaranteed all of its members a decent standard of living and that guaranteed women not simply formal rights, but the material conditions needed for full social participation.

The various views provide the basis for ongoing debate, for the active dissemination of information, even for social movements. But they do not provide any reasonable basis for a political or legal judgment on the matter.

No woman should be forced to have an abortion because of poverty or the lack of child care or governmental pressure—as may now often be the case. But no woman should ever be forced to have a child because the only alternative is criminal and dangerous—a medical hack or a coat hanger—as the anti-abortion movement advocates.

It is this view that needs to be more forcefully expressed today. The right wing continues to expand its influence and raise its issues through the anti-abortion movement. Yet even in the face of its growing impact, many progressive people fail to speak out in support of individual freedom.

In the long run we need a political program that addresses the issue of abortion in the context of defining new and more meaningful roles for women, of examining the state of the family and child-raising, or of projecting a humane and liberating concept of sexuality.

Most immediately we need a more active and visible opposition to the anti-abortion forces. And we need the kind of grass-roots educational work that can provide a growing base for such efforts.

We need to insist on our right to debate, confront, educate about and agonize over this decision, but—in the end—to make our own choices about our own lives.

Roberta Lynch is a national officer of the New American Movement, a democratic socialist organization.



# PERSPECTIVES

## Fundamental conflict between nuclear power and civil liberties

IS THERE A FUNDAMENTAL CONFLICT BETWEEN EXPLOITATION of nuclear power and civil liberties? The threat to civil liberties from nuclear power arises because of the unusual security measures required to protect nuclear power facilities. These security procedures have an immediate impact on nuclear industry employees, who are subject to intrusive security clearances, varying degrees of bodily search, and other impositions on their privacy and rights. Some people argue that such intrusions are the price that must be paid for a job in a nuclear facility, and that these intrusions do not infringe upon the rights of citizens outside the industry. Others say, however, that the existence of institutional mechanisms maintaining security within a widespread industry, employing thousands of people, has a "chilling effect" on civil liberties in the population at large.

The greatest potential threat to civil liberties lies in the possibility that security forces will perceive civilians outside the nuclear industry as dangerous. People who might be perceived in this way include non-violent protesters and those who foment work stoppages, as well as potential saboteurs and terrorists, because specialists in security procedures tend to disregard the distinctions among different forms of protest.

Once institutional mechanisms to protect nuclear facilities against external threats are created, those operating them may be tempted to abuse them or, in "emergencies," to expand their scope beyond what was originally intended. Parkinson's Law applies to the security and intelligence community. Any apparatus designed to spy on one part of the population will tend to expand until it is spying on the whole population. The logic behind this tendency is compelling, for perfect security is possible only with "perfect knowledge" of potential threats, no matter how remote or improbable they may be.

The civil liberties threatened by nuclear power are among those guaranteed by the Bill of Rights in the U.S. Constitution. They include the First Amendment rights to free speech and freedom of as-

sociation. They also include the guarantees of the Fourth through Eighth and Fourteenth Amendments against unreasonable search and seizure, self-incrimination, and coercive prosecutorial activities and the right to be represented by legal counsel and to confront one's accusers in adjudicatory proceedings.

The nuclear industry's favorite taunt to its critics is: "Well, do you want to go back to candles?" That is hardly the choice we face, of course, but if it were, then I should rather read the Bill of Rights by candlelight than not have it to read at all.

During the last two years, however, I have conducted research into the likelihood and the feasibility of reactor sabotage. Although my report on this subject has not yet been cleared for publication, my conclusions are:

The possible consequences of a sabotage-initiated reactor accident are so severe as to make reactor sabotage a societal risk as great or greater than that posed by a nuclear weapon.

In order to pursue this question further, we must distinguish between a plutonium-fueled nuclear program involving breeder reactors and spent-fuel reprocessing, on one hand, and the existing light-water reactors with no fuel reprocessing, on the other.

In the breeder economy, large amounts of plutonium are available for diversion or hijacking at several points in the fuel cycle, especially during transport to the fuel fabrication facility. Small private groups, having obtained this plutonium, can turn it into functional nuclear weapons. The material is so toxic that it can be used to make a radiological weapon even by someone who does not know how to make a nuclear bomb. Either device would be small enough to be capable of being concealed and transported without detection. Either device would give a group of dissidents the destructive potential of a nation-state.

An ordinary economy can tolerate a certain number of "dangerous" people. In a country in which civil liberties are protected, we accept some danger rather than create a police state to eliminate all risk. In a plutonium economy, however, the potential danger even from a small group of dissidents is so great that it argues for the elimination not only of people proven to be dangerous but also of those who are only suspected of being dangerous. As the potential for violence increases, society's tolerance of those who differ must decrease.

Fortunately, we do not have a plutonium-based economy, and the prospect that we will ever have one dims rapidly as solar and other renewable sources of energy become economically competitive with breeder reactors. We do have light-water reactors, however, and our present nuclear program contemplates approximately 200 such reactors by the year 2000. How does the civil liberties threat posed by these reactors differ from that pro-

sented by a plutonium economy?

As long as the spent fuel from light-water reactors is not reprocessed to obtain plutonium, there is no danger that bomb-grade nuclear material might fall into the wrong hands. No such special nuclear material is available in a "throw-away" nuclear fuel cycle. But sabotage of nuclear power reactors, waste storage facilities, and the casks used to transport spent fuel remains a possibility. Of these three, reactor sabotage poses the greatest threat.

I believe that nuclear power plants and waste storage facilities can be guarded against assault from outside groups so that the probability of success would be too low to make such an assault likely. Guarding nuclear facilities to this extent would require far more comprehensive measures than are now contemplated by the NRC, and these measures would be expensive. But nuclear facilities could be turned into impregnable "fortresses." If this were the case, there would be no necessity of conducting surveillance in order to be aware of potential threats; any attack could be repelled.

Such measures would not, however, protect against the possibility that an employee might smuggle in explosives or override safety devices in such a way as to cause a reactor to melt down or a waste storage facility to disperse its radioactive contents over a wide area.

In order to protect against potential sabotage from within the facility, the NRC recently proposed an "accession authorization program" for employees at nuclear power plants. The program would include "background investigations" as to character, associations, and loyalty, conducted under standards and specifications established by the Commission. Employees would be subjected to "full-field background investigations" by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other agencies, in which past fellow employees, landlords, personal and professional acquaintances, neighbors, and intimate personal relations would be interviewed. Other methods of investigation being discussed would include psychological testing, clinical evaluation, and poly-

graph examinations.

John Shattuck, director of the Washington office of the ACLU, holds that most of these proposed measures are infringements or violations of protections now guaranteed by the Constitution and by case law. The NRC has estimated that more than 21,600 people will be subject to such investigative clearances by 1985, and Mr. Shattuck characterized this number as "alarming." He said, "The proposal would set a dangerous precedent by extending a security clearance system historically confined to sensitive government positions to an entire industry, thereby broadly affecting the private sector." He proposed that the NRC seek less intrusive, "non-investigative safe-guard measures which would not undermine the Constitutional rights of nuclear industry employees."

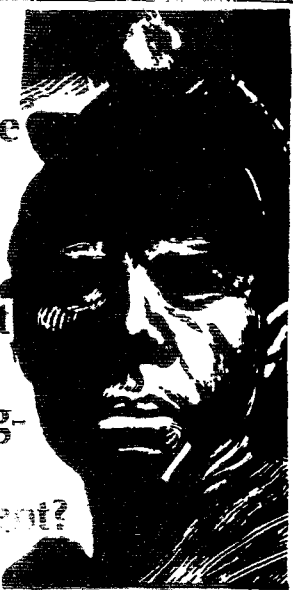
The ACLU position seems to be that it is possible to operate a major nuclear power program and still protect the civil liberties of the people employed in this program. But I disagree. Only thorough investigations will protect against the possibility of sabotage from within a nuclear power plant and the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives. This situation can be described in the same terms used by Russell Ayres with respect to a plutonium economy: to protect the public it is necessary to deny the civil liberties of a significant segment of the population.

Nuclear power thus represents a threat to our civil liberties as great as any other this country has faced. The many other drawbacks and hazards of nuclear power have become obvious in recent years. But on civil liberties grounds alone, nuclear power deserves to be abandoned.

*David Dinsmore Comey is president of Citizens for a Better Environment. He was a member of the Nuclear Proliferation and Safeguards Advisory Panel of the Office of Technology Assessment of the U.S. Congress.*

*This article is excerpted by permission from CBE Environmental Review, Oct. 1978, Suite 2610, 59 E. Van Buren, Chicago, Ill. 60605.*

What does the coal strike teach us about the working-class movement?



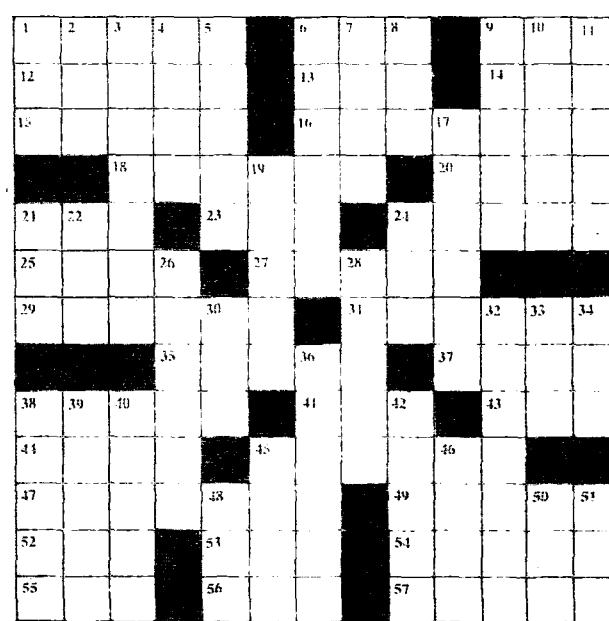
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### CAN DO?

By Jay Shepherd

#### ACROSS

- 1 Forces, for one  
6 Cheshire or alley  
9 Rotten  
12 Bergman film  
13 Land measure  
14 U.N. official Trygve

- 15 Gin mixer  
16 Most fastidious  
18 Units of corn  
20 Man, for example  
21 Indian title  
23 Singer Peggy  
24 Fall bloomer  
25 Celebes ox  
27 Cooking odor  
29 Frankness  
31 Chorus dance  
35 Western milieu  
37 Singer Fitzgerald  
38 \_\_\_\_\_ Ababa  
41 "The \_\_\_\_\_ of Loving" (Fromm)  
43 Stout, for one  
44 Rival subject

#### DOWN

- 1 One connected with (suffix)  
2 Greek letter  
3 Large residence  
4 Give off  
5 Car sticker  
5 Sore  
7 Greek war god  
8 Darjeeling  
9 Consecrated  
10 Bridal path  
11 Turn aside  
17 Herbal brew  
19 Discover  
21 Internal pouch  
27 Nucleic acid  
24 Doctor's org.  
26 Without purpose  
38 Earthy pigment  
30 Panamerican org.  
32 Typical  
33 "\_\_\_\_\_ in the Family"  
34 Scottish refusal  
36 Unit of light  
38 Colorado city  
39 Actor Alain  
40 Bee  
42 Type of sax  
45 Viewed  
46 Respiratory sound  
48 Golf term  
50 Khan  
51 Sever

Answer to last week's puzzle:





# THE INSIDE STORY

Continued from page 2.

Dellums' and Fraser's speeches, unfortunately, were conference high points. It was downhill from there. The morning's discussion of issues inspired a parade of interest group representatives who took the mike to expound upon the gravity of their special cause. The afternoon stimulated systems analysts to offer their advice on how best to effect the heady transition from the conference to two organizing committees that would set up an alliance.

At 3 p.m., Fraser got unanimous assent on the UAW proposals to set up organizing committees.

## Corporations the enemy.

Some important matters did manage to find their way through the forest of unstructured verbiage. There was widespread agreement that corporations had become the common enemy.

Jules Bernstein, Laborers' Union: "If there is a unifying principle, it is that the corporations have too much power."

Johnny Brown, Operating Engineers: (ironically) I don't think any of us knew who the enemy was until the brother talked about corporate America."

Midge Miller, Wisconsin state representative: "All of us are being ripped off by corporate America, and that's the place to start."

There was also intermittent discussion of the different paths the alliance could take.

Sol Stetin, Clothing Workers: "This group should give serious consideration either to getting involved in the Democratic party or forming our own party. To tell the truth, I don't know which is the best way to proceed."

Elie Smeal, National Organization for Women: "I frankly think just talking about reforming the Democratic Party is not enough."

When I asked Smeal later whether she meant that the alliance should also run candidates of its own, she said she hadn't meant that. Instead, she conceived of the alliance, in the image of NOW, as a giant pressure group on both parties.

## Symptoms, not causes.

I left the conference in a daze. If I were a drama critic, I would have panned it, but the significance of political events often transcends their entertainment value.

The dullness was not incidental. Part of it was due to the lack of structure and part to the participants' unfamiliarity with each other. But it also reflected the state of the American left.

While I was circulating at lunch, one participant remarked, "You'd never see each group getting up like this at a fascist meeting and tooting their own horn." He was probably thinking more of rightists' sense of urgency and historic mission, but I realized there was a more important difference. The right's politics are, for better or worse, informed by a unifying vision,

so that the different interests see themselves represented in the whole. That unifying vision or understanding was conspicuously missing from the conference, and its absence allowed the speeches to dawdle over the past or the personal.

There was some agreement that corporate power was the enemy, and this was a significant advance, but it was hardly enough to generate alternative programs, which everyone agreed the left needs.

The U.S. faces unprecedented political and economic problems. With investment stalled around the world, and inflation and unemployment rising, corporations have the country in a bind. As long as they have power over investment decisions, politicians must do what they want in order to get investment going. This, more than any perfidiousness, explained Congress' capitulation on natural gas, taxes, and Humphrey-Hawkins.

The only alternative is to attack corporate control over investment decisions. A dawning recognition that this was necessary came two weeks ago from none other than George Meany. Meany said that he would prefer mandatory price-wage controls to voluntary ones, but that mandatory controls would also have to regulate interest, rents, and profits.

But the conference participants, including the socialists from NAM and DSOC, steered clear of any hint that private investment control underlay labor's present difficulties.

## Symbol or reality.

There was also a sense of strategic confusion that plagued the conference. In many admittedly less ambitious conferences, one can tolerate wandering discussions because one knows that somebody knows what to do next. In Detroit, this was not clear.

I think the UAW's long-term goal is to build a social-democratic party along the lines of Canada's New Democratic Party. Such a party would unite different parts of the left and labor around a program of limited nationalization, social welfare, and state economic planning. It would be a haven for socialists and a great boon to the American working class.

But no one seems to know how to get from the here and now to this Valhalla. Should the alliance run candidates of its own? Should it merely function as a pressure group? How can it awaken the frustrated majority that rejects any participation in politics and sees labor leaders as well as politicians as crooked connivers?

When I talked to UAW officials after the conference, they had no answers. "It has to be kept ambiguous," one official explained. The main thing was to do "grass-roots organizing."

But hadn't the Full Employment Action Committee tried to do grass-roots organizing and failed abysmally? What would this alliance do differently?

I couldn't get answers to these questions.

So I left Detroit not knowing whether I had witnessed the beginnings of a new political coalition that will sow the seeds for an independent working class politics or an impressive symbol of those intentions that would have to be realized later by others.

I didn't know, but whichever happened, the Detroit conference showed that American labor leaders have begun to discard the old business-labor alliance and to set sail for new lands.

# Swedish socialists

Continued from page 7.

wing of the party. After all, they say, if it takes many years to accomplish something that then permits us to move on toward our socialist goal, better to take the time than do something hurriedly, without popular support. They have seen that alternate route taken elsewhere—they note that it has always failed. The party held power for more than 40 years and is widely expected to regain power next fall.

But the Swedish socialist movement has more than mere electoral strength behind it. It is one of the most popular in Western Europe. Out of Sweden's eight million people, the Social Democratic

party has one million members. The LO, the party-affiliated trade union, has two million members and represents some 90 percent of blue-collar workers. The co-operative movement—the third pillar of the working-class movement—has 1.9 million members, with half of all Swedish families as members. These are the small avant-garde bodies—they are the working peoples' own organizations. It is quite clear the Swedish socialists intend to keep their party open, responsive, close to these people.

Nancy Lieber represented the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee at the Swedish Social Democrats' Congress.

# Paying Mom won't work

Continued from page 20.

bution would be a dramatic step towards a more equal distribution of economic rewards. The home child care subsidy amounts to wages for housework, a long-standing objective of some feminists.

## Buying off Mom.

But on closer inspection the Carnegie proposals are less attractive. The subsidy of home day care without an equivalent subsidy for public day care will blow the whistle on the dramatic post World War II increase in mothers working outside the home. The proposals thus reinforce the dependency of the mother on either the wage earning husband, or the state, or both. The Carnegie proposals would gild the chains of dependency, not break them.

For all the public attention it has received, *All Our Children* will not be a blueprint for national social policy. Its mixture of genuine concern and studied ignorance of the class dynamics of capitalism have produced a curious blend of passionate description, irrelevant analysis and utopian proposals.

Keniston and his colleagues have misunderstood the economic crisis of capitalism which has accompanied and is inseparable from the crisis of authority and allegiance. In boldly addressing the crisis of values the Carnegie Council has sought to leave the economic crisis to the economists and the computers. The Council seems undisturbed that its proposal would require fundamental tax reform, disruption of low-wage labor markets and total overhaul of the welfare system—structural changes unlikely to be realized in the absence of a mass movement demanding them. And the Council breezily dismisses the potential macro-economic problems.

## It won't work.

The dual crises of modern capitalism are not so easily divorced. The Carnegie proposals, if enacted, would intensify the economic crisis. The profits necessary to restore capitalist growth can hardly be

promoted by a tax on the rich to keep mothers (and some fathers) off the labor market.

Some critics of the Carnegie proposals will opt to deal with the economic crisis and to ignore the crisis of values. These critics will point to capital's need to cut back taxes and welfare and to expand the supply of cheap labor. But the workability of capitalism requires not only cheap labor and low taxes, but authority and allegiance as well. And authority and allegiance can hardly be promoted by an anti-egalitarian policy that will further undermine the traditional family.

The path for progressive social policy is to recognize the contradiction of the dual crises of capitalism, and to reject both horns of the dilemma. This path involves an uphill struggle for a socialist society which can provide a loving and secure environment for kids growing up, in the home and out, and promote a democratic everyday life—in families, in work places, in schools—as an integral part of—not an obstacle to—a growing and rational economy.

But it would be a serious mistake to dismiss *All Our Children*. It is part of an outpouring of books advocating the restoration of the family's functions. These include Christopher Lasch's *Haven in a Heartless World* and Selma Fraiberg's *Every Child's Birthright*. Fraiberg argues that, psychologically, children need one person (Mom) to stay home with them during the first two or three years of their lives.

The basic recommendation emanating from these books—keeping Mom at home—can easily be used by right-wing ideologues in their attacks on the gains that women, gays, blacks, Chicanos and other minorities have made since the 1960s. As such, these books may well become a weapon in the overall racist, anti-gay and anti-feminist conservative offensive. —The Red Cent Collective  
*The Red Cent Collective is a group of socialist economists working in Amherst, Mass.*

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## LIFE IN THE U.S.

## VETERANS

## Army justice takes six years and a suit

By Randall Risen

Jeff Miller

**W**HEN THE SPECIAL Discharge Review Program (SDRP) was finally implemented in April of last year, it was hailed by many as a move toward rectifying some past abuses of the military's discharge system.

Richard Furnish thought so, too. More than six years had elapsed since he was wounded on a mission in Vietnam and later released from the Army with an "undesirable discharge."

Justice, he thought, was very much overdue.

But in keeping with the nature of our political system, what government had given it would attempt to take away and events would later throw Furnish into federal court, promoting a class action lawsuit potentially affecting more than 1,600 other veterans.

Upon arriving in Vietnam in early 1969, Furnish became a "model soldier" in that war-torn land and received several decorations for his service.

But Furnish cared little for front line duty and after being wounded reenlisted to "get out of the infantry." Like many of his peers, he was not prepared for the shock of returning home to a nation bitterly divided over the war he had just fought.

Furnish's troubles began escalating at Fort Sill, Okla., where he began working in the office of the Director of Security.

"It was a complete turn-around," he says, and that was when he "started having problems readjusting to the regular Army and civilian life" and began using drugs to keep his nerves and depression controlled.

"This whole problem came to a head when I was ordered to call Arkansas and inquire about the need for military supervision of activities at a rock music concert.

"This was happening at about the same time as the Kent State demonstrations where the students were killed. Suddenly the military was putting me in a position where...Americans my age were the enemy.

"If I had not been in the army, Furnish says, "I probably would have been attending that rock concert."

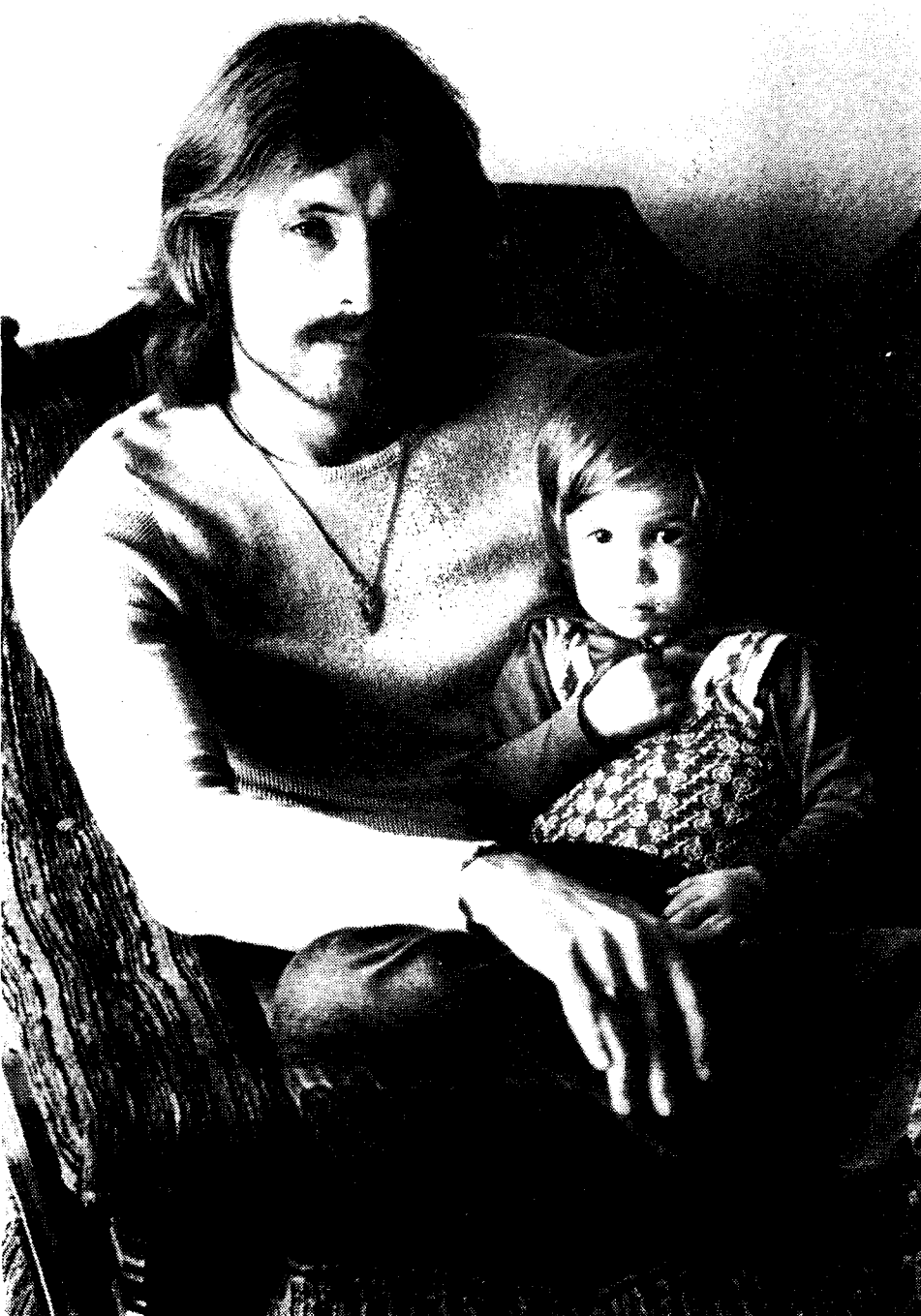
Seeking assistance from senior ranking officers, Furnish was rebuffed. He had reached the point where he simply wanted out of the Army at any cost. "It was either that or commit suicide and I didn't want to do that."

The best way to accomplish this feat, he thought, would be to ruin his previously excellent record. In September of 1970 he walked away from Fort Sill and 60 days later surrendered at an Air Force base.

Furnish was shipped to Fort Ord, Calif., where, without assistance of an attorney, he faced a Summary Courts Martial. "I again told the Army I wanted out because I could not take it anymore." The Army balked at this suggestion. Instead, he was placed on restriction in the company area for two months, was reduced in rank and fined two-thirds pay.

The value of this punishment is questionable; it tends to further alienate the recipients—and Furnish clashed with a sergeant who accused him of breaking restriction. Furnish insists that he was innocent, "but no one would listen to me. Instead, they told me to turn myself in to the military police for disciplinary action."

This was right before Christmas and would have meant spending Christmas in the stockade, so once again Furnish went AWOL (absent without official leave) and



Richard Furnish at home with his son Jacob.

## The Veterans Administration violated the law by denying stopping action on claims before the cut-off date.

headed back to his home state of Utah where a month and a half later he was arrested and convicted of possessing hashish.

### Discharged.

This time Furnish would get his wish and was allowed to apply for an administrative discharge under a special provision providing such releases "for the good of the service."

An Army attorney talked to Furnish during his confinement "for a couple of minutes to advise me how to fill out the statement requesting a discharge.

"The lawyer did tell me I might get an 'undesirable discharge' but he did not disagree with me when I said with my good combat record I could get a General Discharge." (General Discharges are between Honorable and Undesirable and are issued administratively, usually to bar veterans' benefits. Bad Conduct and Dishonorable discharges are the result of a Courts Martial).

As with a good many veterans holding "bad paper," life was not easy for Furnish who is married and has two small children.

"I couldn't afford to attend school without the benefits and I didn't get a job until I stopped putting my discharge down on the applications."

Furnish estimates that he may have lost nearly 14 jobs because of his discharge.

Announcement of the SDRP came as a blessing—it would open new doors and opportunities and remove the stigma Furnish had carried for the last six years.

(The SDRP provided for the upgrading of General and Undesirable discharges held by veterans who met certain criteria such as having had two years of honorable service, service in a combat zone, recipient of a military decoration or having been wounded in action.)

Furnish applied for an SDRP upgrade and received his Honorable discharge on June 28, 1977.

### New eligibility.

Near the end of August, he received a letter from the Veterans Administration (VA) informing him of his new eligibility for educational assistance under the GI bill. Terminating his employment, he promptly enrolled in college under the bill.

But fate has a way of creating victims before they realize they have been victimized.

While critics on the left complained that the SDRP was too restrictive in its scope, it was the right that moved to gut the program.

Days after the SDRP was announced, Congress was flooded with bills and amendments to deny various VA benefits to those receiving an SDRP upgrade.

Compromise legislation—which blunted demands for an outright ban on

VA benefits—was drafted by Sens. Alan Cranston (D-CA) and Strom Thurmond (R-SC).

A complicated bill, the Cranston-Thurmond measure basically denied benefits until the Department of Defense had made a second review of all SDRP upgrades and determined that those discharges would have been upgraded by military tribunals in any event under "historically consistent" standards. However, the measure also provided that SDRP upgraded veterans who had been granted benefits prior to the bill's enactment were to continue receiving them until the second review had been completed.

### VA violates the law.

While federal agencies are not empowered to implement laws until they exist, the VA moved to do just that.

Congress passed the Cranston-Thurmond measure on Sept. 23 and the bill was not signed into law until Oct. 8, 1977.

On Sept. 27, though, Jerome G. Pecharsky, director of the VA's Compensation and Pension Service issued verbal instructions to the agency's regional offices to stop processing claims filed by veterans holding SDRP upgrades.

And the VA's somewhat contorted rationale? "Had we not taken the steps we did, and continued adjudicating claims until Oct. 8...we would have been in violation of the law in that we would have knowingly and in flagrant disregard of Congressional intent placed veterans into receipt of benefits contrary to statute subsequent to date of enactment (sic)."

Referring to this action, Tom Turcotte, coordinator of Discharge Review Services for Swords to Plowshares (STP)—a San Francisco-based organization comprised mostly of Vietnam era veterans—states simply that "They (the VA) have a basic contempt for veterans receiving an upgraded discharge."

Furnish, of course, was not privy to the VA's reinterpretation of the law and was stunned when in late October he received a letter from the VA that informed him that due to a new law, action on his claim for benefits would be delayed until an additional special review by the Service Department could be completed—which the VA told him might take six months.

"Before deciding to go to school on the GI bill," Furnish recalled, "I had figured our monthly income would only go down about \$100 if I quit working and got these benefits."

### Fighting back.

So Furnish fought back, first contacting his Representative Pete McCloskey (R-CA) and various groups and organizations in an attempt to speed the second review. All this having failed, he was referred to STP, which, on his behalf, hauled the entire issue into federal court.

"We were thrilled," remembers Turcotte, on watch for a test case. "He was a 'classic' vet with an UD (Undesirable Discharge)—wounded, decorated combat veteran." He had completed all the paperwork and done everything the VA had told him to do "and they screwed him."

Furnish won his case earlier this year—the issue being whether the VA had the authority to deny him benefits based on a law that did not exist at that time.

Since then STP successfully managed to have the Furnish case amended as a class action suit and is awaiting "summary judgment," which, if favorable, would force the VA to offer similar "back pay" to an estimated 1,600 other veterans who had been denied benefits in like manner.



## THE AMERICAN FAMILY

# Paying Mom to stay home won't work

Meg Gerken

## ALL OUR CHILDREN: The American Family Under Pressure

By Kenneth Keniston and the Carnegie Council on Children  
Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovitch, New York, 1977, \$10.95

*All Our Children*, a study recommending federal income supports to allow mothers to stay home, has generated something of a social movement less than a year after its publication. Vice President Mondale called it "a basic document for national policy." The National Council of Churches will build a two-year public information and advocacy program around the proposals of *All Our Children*.

Why has the marriage of child advocacy to a soak-the-rich redistribution policy gained such a foothold in the liberal social policy establishment? The reason, we think, stems from a growing public dissatisfaction with the top-down organization and unequal rewards of economic life. The response of many social policy opinion makers has reflected the bias of modern liberalism: redistribute income and restore the bases of hierarchical authority. *All Our Children* adopts just this stance, in its attempt to protect the traditional family structure by channeling massive amounts of welfare dollars to home child care.

The book is a project of the Carnegie Council on Children, an offshoot of the Carnegie Corporation. In 1972 the Corporation created its Council on Children to investigate the current status of children, and staffed it with 11 well-known professionals headed by the respected social critic and Yale psychologist, Kenneth Keniston. Five years and \$2.5 million later, the publication of *All Our Children* summarizes their findings thus far.

### Poverty, a social disease.

*All Our Children* begins with a useful catalog of problems that children face. Poverty, unequal opportunity, lead poisoning, TV hard-sell commercials, poor diet, inadequate health services—these and other problems create "The Stacked Deck: Odds Against a Decent Life" for a quarter to a third of all American children. Poverty is seen to be the single most important source of children's problems.



It took \$2.5 million to discover that poverty is at the root of children's problems.

*All Our Children* resists easy "blame-the-victim" explanations. Children's problems are *social* consequences, the report reasons, and they are produced by *social* processes; blaming the parents for the family's poverty, for example, will not do. The Council argues that many of the tasks once performed by the family are now the province of social institutions and professionals. Moreover, many fam-

ilies now need a second income-earner to survive. Finally, soaring divorce rates have left increasing single-parent families. The result: today's American family is under enormous "pressure."

### New problems, old answers.

Given its analysis, one might expect the Council to attempt a realistic assessment of the prospects and problems for chil-

dren outside the family. Not so. In fact, despite its sophistication, *All Our Children* is curiously blind on some matters, blithe on others.

The Council's main innovation is a stipend to stay-at-home mothers. (Actually, the stipend would be available for either parent who stayed home, but the Council seems to expect—and who could fault them here?—that normally this would be the mother). This proposal, along with an additional supplement for single-parent families, would then bring the family's income up to some "adequate" level. If actually carried out, the income redistri-

*Continued on page 18.*

## Lasch's besieged family: Haven is in his eyes

### HAVEN IN A HEARTLESS WORLD:

#### The Family Besieged

By Christopher Lasch  
Basic Books, New York, 1977, \$15.00

Christopher Lasch's *Haven in a Heartless World* is a seductive book, because much of what he says seems to ring true. You therefore expect it to provide a significant analysis of what it seeks to explore: the relationship between the family and the state. But it doesn't, because Lasch fails to provide a clear statement of the racial, sexual and class biases which define his discussion.

According to Lasch, "Today the state controls not merely the individual's body but as much of his spirit as it can preempt." Lasch develops two related themes in explanation. First, he believes that the modern family is subject to so much social control that it can no longer serve the emotional needs of its members. Second, Lasch believes that revisionist Freudian psychoanalysis used by both the "helping professions" and social scientists underlies their present inability to deal with the crisis of the family. He never explains the contours of the revisionist argument as he understands it; but he claims that revisionists in particular, and social scientists in general, have lost the real essence of Freud—they banish the oedipal complex, and do not understand the relationship between instinct and culture.

In his first theme Lasch describes the ero-

sion of parental authority. Doctors, social workers and teachers have taken over the home, and "socialized reproduction." He defines this process as the "expropriation of parental functions by agencies outside the family."

This argument is partly true, but overstated. Although more and more agencies are supposedly responsible for functions that used to be defined within the home, they do not "expropriate" the family's functions. They at best supplement them.

Although more and more agencies are supposedly responsible for functions that used to be defined within the home, they do not "expropriate" the family's functions. They at best supplement them. Women are still responsible for the rearing of children, even if this is defined differently than in 18th or 19th century terms. Part of Lasch's problem here is that he uses the term parent when he really means father. The specific relations of the mother within the family to the state are lost.

For Lasch the problem is state intervention. But to be useful, the question has to be defined more sharply: state interference for what purpose? For instance, Cuba has an explicit state policy of family intervention to attack the sexual division of labor, and such policy can help create new positive notions about parenting, I think.

### Protecting Freud.

But for Lasch, any state intervention that

jeopardizes the resolution of the oedipal complex—for Freud and Lasch a universal instinctual need—is bad. According to him, that resolution requires strong parents, although he really means that strong fathers are needed.

"Anyone who believes that Freud's ideas remain indispensable to an understanding of the contemporary family," says Lasch, "has to show how the revisionists, in the very attempt to incorporate psychoanalysis into the study of culture, lost its most important insight: the irreconcilable antagonism between culture and instinct." The revisionists, too, he seems to say, took the oedipal complex too lightly. And Lasch claims that revisionism was shaped by feminists and by the writings of Karen Horney.

I think Lasch is wrong on two counts here. First, Lasch never clarifies what he means by feminism; he confuses the feminist critique of psychoanalysis with revisionism because he is protective of the Freudian oedipal view. Second, he overstates the historical importance of the feminist critiques of psychoanalysis. If feminism is a redefinition and reorganization of the sex/gender system, through the relationship between mothering and fathering, feminism has not successfully affected traditional psychoanalysis.

### Ideas as power.

Lasch says in the beginning of his book that his subject is the "intersection of theory, ideology and social practice."

But to explain the intersection, the relations of power in the society must be explained. Lasch instead treats the ideas he discusses as though they were the force of change themselves. He treats ideas as power, and although they are powerful they are not powerful disconnected from the power relations of society.

Instead of dealing with the way that relations between patriarchy and monopoly capitalism require state control of both the working class and the middle class family, and not merely the black but the white family as well, Lasch leaves us with a vague sense that the helping professions with social scientists are the source of the family's destruction. They need to be understood, but they are not structures unto themselves.

Lasch seems to believe that feminists do not really understand the issues at hand today, particularly the survival of the family. But I think it is Lasch who does not understand. Men and women don't lose power to the state in the same way. Until Lasch makes that distinction he can't understand that the home may never have been a "haven in a heartless world" for women, and won't be until the "socialization of reproduction" is understood as necessary to any revolutionary analysis.

—Zillah Eisenstein  
Zillah Eisenstein is associate professor of Politics at Ithaca College. She is editor of the recent *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism*, Monthly Review, 1978.



## ART &amp; ENTERTAINMENT



## ART &amp; SOCIAL ACTIVISM

## James Baldwin: coming home

By Bonnie Greer

The small, fragile man is engaged on all sides by people who want his autograph, to shake his hand, kiss his cheek, or just to stand close to him, touch him. James Baldwin tries to oblige everyone, always with a broad smile on his face. Yet his eyes are fatigued from travel and he moves slowly. He has just delivered an address as the keynote speaker for the tenth anniversary (on Oct. 15) of the Kuumba Workshop, a black theater group in Chicago.

Kuumba was born during the black revolution of the '60s, a revolution that James Baldwin foresaw and encouraged. Now he looks like a gentle godfather. This gentle air contrasts with the words he spoke earlier.

"We still have much to learn in this country," he had said to the group, "thirteen years after Malcolm and ten years after Martin. It would seem to me if I were legally white in this country, facing the result of such a stormy and bloody history, it would be a history I could not deny."

"It would be a serious mistake to believe what Americans offer as their history. They still say John Wayne is real. They don't know today, with Sambo being here for 400 years, why I resist this education. We have survived the most extraordinary education in the history of the world. And after all, can't nobody frighten us no more."

The next day, waiting in the airport for a return flight to New York, James Baldwin takes time to talk about what brought him back to the United States, his experiences overseas, and the problems facing the black writer today.

"This is a country in very great trouble," he says. "That's probably because it doesn't want to believe it's in trouble. Like that Proposition 13, which is really

saying, 'We don't want to help those shiftless niggers.' It's all in deep trouble. And America is quietly becoming irrelevant to the rest of the world."

Baldwin these days spends time speaking wherever he can, alerting people to America's "swing to the right." His most urgent concern is (as it is in his 1974 novel, *If Beale Street Could Talk*)

**Cross-country, he alerts blacks to "rightward swing."**

the web of poverty, racism and crime around black young people.

"You see young black people getting high, robbing old ladies, no one cares," he says. "The power structure doesn't care."

Baldwin has been leveling social criticisms at Americans for a long time. Since 1953, he has been a scourge on the national consciousness with his forthright essays, novels and plays. More than any other writer of his generation, he has documented the fear, physical and psychic, that black people endure as part of their existence in the U.S.

That fear, and a desperate need to define himself, drove him into exile in France in November 1948. Now he recalls the difficulties of living in Europe, as well.

"During the Algerian Revolution, I was picked up [in Paris]. If you were not Swedish, blonde and blue-eyed, you were suspect. It was horrible. Some of my friends and I, Simone Signoret, Yves Montand, Simone de Beauvoir, finally signed a petition protesting the treatment that people were being subjected to in Paris at the time. Today, it's a worsening situation. Now that France does not have Algeria anymore, it doesn't know what to do."

Baldwin notes that the play

from Richard Wright's *Native Son* is re-opening at Chicago's Goodman Theater. His famous critique of *Native Son*, called "Everybody's Favorite Protest Novel," has been called his break with his mentor. Now he explains himself again.

"In writing 'Everybody's Favorite Protest Novel' I did not have the intention of destroying him. I wanted to clarify some things. I met him when I was 20. He was 36. I was 36 when he died. I didn't realize at the time the journey Richard had taken. I had gone from Harlem, New York, to France. He had gone from Mississippi to Chicago to New York to France. That was a journey I did not make. I loved Richard very much."

Baldwin describes himself as an artist and a social activist. To him, a black artist needs to become more cosmopolitan.

"Really, the black artist is cosmopolitan by definition. They should realize that by now. White people are trying to get back to something, but they don't know what they're trying to get back to. That's why they need us."

Baldwin leans back in the chair in the airport lounge, takes a long drag on his cigarette and stares out the huge windows at the planes ready for takeoff. Tonight he must be in New York for a poetry reading. The next day he goes somewhere else to speak and then the next day....

"I've been in and out of this country for a long time. I've not been out of it long enough to be 'out of it.' But I refuse to adjust to it. What holds me really is that I have great expectations for this country. I'm not trying to be romantic. I'm not trying to be romantic about all those boys and girls out there who steal. I see that shit. But something else is happening, too. Something else."

Bonnie Greer is a Chicago playwright and free-lance writer.

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Carey McWilliams

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# Short Notice



## Records

### B' LIEVE I'LL RUN ON...SEE WHAT THE END'S GONNA BE

Sweet Honey in the Rock (Redwood Records)

Four opulently-voiced women take on blackness, love, womanhood, nuclear war, and economic injustice. Predictable lyrics, but melodically stirring.

—Ellen Deirdre Murphy

### EARLY HAWAIIAN CLASSICS

Kalama's Quartette (Folklyric/Arhoolie)

Another in the Folklyric series of regional recordings, typically solid performances document regional influence on popular music. Here, Hawaiian music's contribution to country/western is clear. Hawaiian steel guitar is the ancestor of the trademark country instrument, the pedal steel. Mike Hanapi's and Bob Matsu's steel playing impresses; quartette harmonies (on songs mostly Hawaiian) are polished.

—Steve Schwartzman

### HOT SWING FIDDLE CLASSICS, 1936-1943

Stuff Smith, Emilio Caceres, Svend Asmussen (Folklyric/Arhoolie)

Aficionados of bluegrass and western swing should rediscover

these jazz fiddle masters. Caceres and Asmussen play like the big names, and Stuff struts his. Fiddling ranges from good to fantastic, all in small groups heavy on Eddie Laing-style rhythm guitar.

—S.S.

### ROAD TO RUIN

The Ramones (Sire Records)

Although the very idea of the boys from Queens "breaking new ground" may sound ridiculous on the face of it, that's just what the most conservative of the minimalists have done. They've slowed down the pace and made their most melodic and satisfying album.

—Bruce Dancis

### LIVING IN THE U.S.A.

Linda Ronstadt (Elektra/Asylum)

A snoozer from a fine singer who has completely lost direction.

—B.D.

### JACK TEMPCHIN

(Arista)

At least one friend of the Eagles and Jackson Browne is alive and well. Witty and engaging country-rock from the writer of "Peaceful, Easy Feeling."

### TRAVELIN' WITH THE BLUES

Tom McFarland (Arhoolie)

Excellent straight blues trio; all original tunes. It takes self-confidence and dedication to the

form—and McFarland has both—to pull off an album like this in the era of megabuck productions. Both songs and guitarwork are fresh expressions of old blues themes; rhythm section is tight and understated without monotony.

—S.S.

—B.D.

### CUMBIA AND JAZZ FUSION Charles Mingus (Atlantic)

Two movie-soundtrack sides that also give us genuine "fusion music." "Cumbia" blends American jazz with Indian rhythms from Colombia, and Mingus leads an expanded ensemble with the same masterful control he had with smaller combos. At near-end, Mingus breaks into a singing-shouting take-off, "Who said momma's lil' baby likes shortnin' bread?" On side two, "Music for 'Todo Modo'", somber organ contrasts with hot, bebop-flavored solos. In ensemble and solo sections, Mingus supports the arrangement with his sturdy bass lines. Sadly, Mingus is now seriously ill, which has limited him to composing and arranging in current recording sessions.

—Derk Richardson



ers of the '60s. But while the jaded Stone submerges his talent in layers of cynicism, Morrison continues to sing with power, depth, and real feeling.

### PHILADELPHIA FOLK FESTIVAL (Flying Fish)

If you want to know what Dave Van Ronk, Odetta, Norman Blake, Tom Paxton and others are doing these days, this live recording from the August 1977 festival gives you a good idea. Excellent performances, with usual Flying Fish high recording quality.

—Joe Heumann

### ME AND MY HEROES

Buddy Spicher (Flying Fish)

A definitive good-time fiddle album, from a very talented player, with excellent taste in musicians to play with. Bluegrass and country songs.

—J.H.

### REUNION

Peter Paul and Mary (Warner)

Peter, Paul and Mary together again after eight years of not making it separately. PP&M return here to their famous three-part harmony folk style with "Summer Highland Falls." If they celebrate overmuch the sentimental thrill of reunion with "Like the First Time" and "Forever Young," we also get "Ms. Rheingold," with a biting wit and ragtime beat.

—Michael Kimmel

### KEN BLOOM

(Flying Fish)

This respected studio musician showcases his versatility and good taste. Instruments include balalaika and Northumbrian small pipes. A variety-pak introduction to several folk traditions.

### INSIGHTS

Akiyoshi-Tabackin Big Band (RCA)

Toshiko Akiyoshi is today the premier big band leader in the world; her writing ranks with Ellington's, and her tight group of musicians produces a bright, clear sound. *Insights* won *Swing Magazine's* best album of the year award. It is distinguished

by side two, "Minamata." A three-movement suite on the tragic theme of the Japanese fishing village ravaged by commercial fisheries' mercury poisoning, the piece tautly sustains its logic and drama. Exceptional solos by Bobby Shew, trumpet, Dick Spencer, alto, and Lew Tabackin on tenor. (Tabackin also displays his prodigious talents on tenor and flute on his two recent small group recordings on Inner City.)

—Derk Richardson



## Movies

### THE BOYS FROM BRAZIL (20th-Century Fox)

Laurence Olivier (good guy) and Gregory Peck (bad guy) look embarrassed, and they should, in this Sir Lew Grade slush about Hitler clones. The arthritic film keeps till past midpoint the secret you knew when you walked in.

—P.A.

### BLOODBROTHERS (Warner)

Director Robert Mulligan takes a flawed but intensely angry novel (by Richard Price) about an Italian working class family, and adds failures of his own. He redirects the focus of Price's anger from the family itself to machismo, but undercuts the point by making the film's best moments rituals of male bonding. Still, the film has its painfully moving and authentic moments.

—Al Auster & Len Quart

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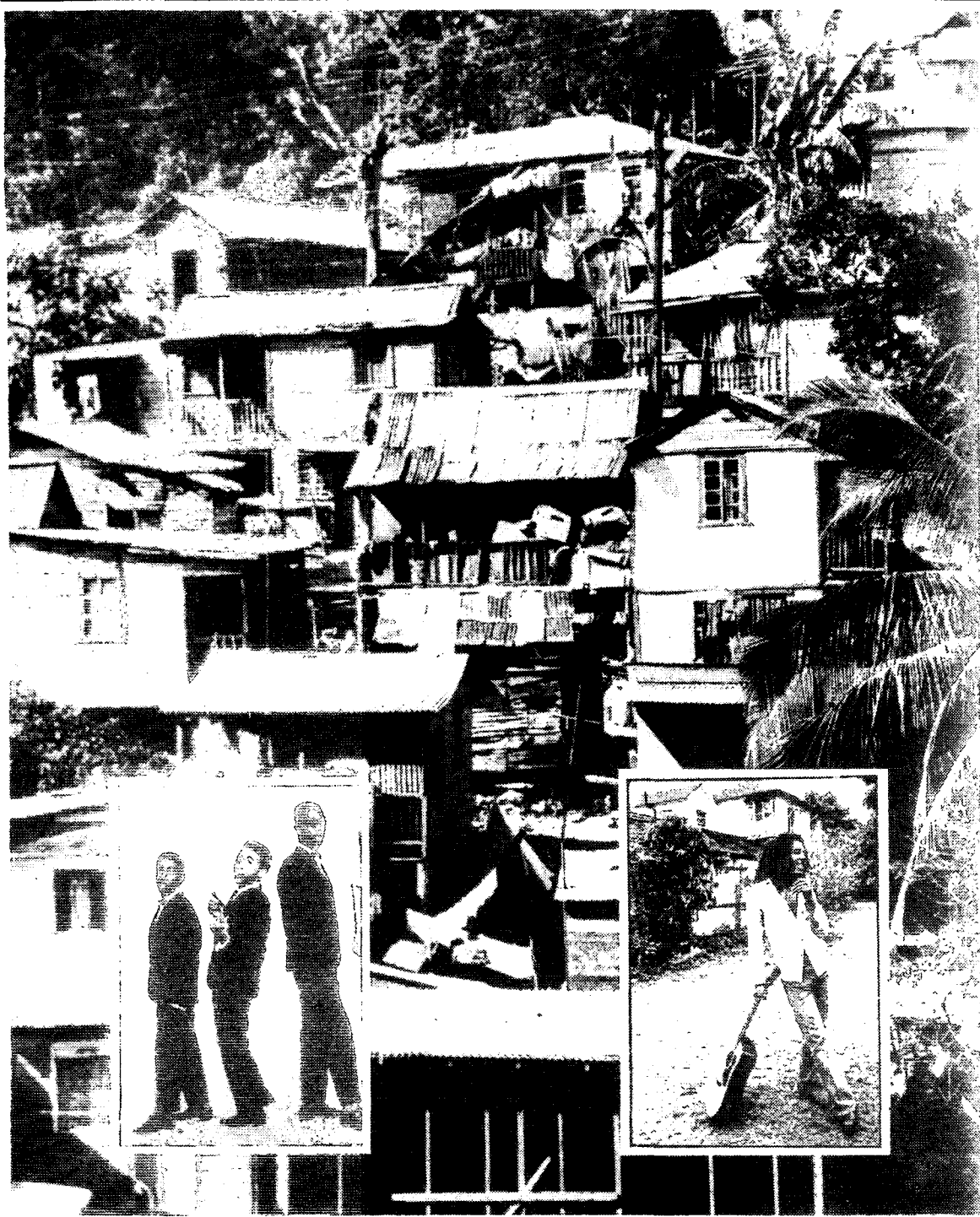
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The Wailers (left insert, in 1967) came from Jamaican slums to U.S. success; Bob Marley (right) may now be among the few to win Warner Brothers distribution.

## Reggae today: losing roots or paving way?

Reggae, merging popular music and social criticism, travelled north from Jamaica in 1973. It looked for a while like U.S. rock fans would buy it big, as *The Harder They Come* became a cult movie, and Bob Marley and the Wailers sold over half a million records. But most good reggae albums have hovered in the 30,000-75,000 sales range, and interest died down.

Now, with a bigger industry push for popularizing reggae than any time in the last two years, reggae may once again make it big. If it broadens its appeal, will it lose its roots?

### Resisting the irresistible.

The power of the music once seemed irresistible. Rock stars like the Rolling Stones, Paul Simon, Graham Parker and the Rumour recorded songs using its rhythms. But reggae faced two problems: its distinctive message and marketing weaknesses.

The message of music rooted in a Jamaican religious cult, the Rastafarians, is not the usual lyrical fare in popular music. Rastafarians deify the late Haile Selassie, and make Marcus Garvey his prophet. Rasta tenets include African redemption (blacks returning from "Babylon" to Africa), marijuana as a sacrament; growing of long, matted hair (dreadlocks), and opposition to racial and economic exploitation.

Just as serious as the unfamiliar religious message, however, has been weak commercial build-up for reggae. Whether as a consequence of capital shortage, incompetence, or discrimination be-

cause of reggae's politics, it's still true that reggae hasn't had a powerful public image.

### Who's to blame.

Reggae performers and independent companies blame the media. Lister Hewan-Lowe, president of Mango Records, complained to me that although rock journalists pay attention to Bob Marley, they ignore influential artists like the Heptones and Burning Spear.

An even bigger problem is the radio airplay. Even the most daring FM stations confine reggae to weekly one-hour shows in the middle of the night. Black-oriented radio stations do the same. Jamaican producer Lee Perry told a reporter from *New Musical Express* that the main reason "is because reggae music denounces the very heart of the system on which much of the capitalist world is built."

Yet even companies producing and distributing reggae albums in the U.S., such as Island Records and its subsidiary, Mango, have done a poor job. According to Warren Smith, an independent producer, "Island really broke down about a year ago." The company has not placed its product well in record stores, and released few reggae albums during the past year. With the exception of Bob Marley, Island and Mango artists have received virtually no advertising or other promotional support.

One of the worst examples of corporate neglect was the case of Peter Tosh and his former record company, Columbia Records. Shortly before Tosh was to

begin a major U.S. tour along with Burning Spear, Soul Syndicate, and other stellar groups in the summer of 1977, Columbia withdrew its support and the tour fell apart. Tosh's record sales were evidently too low to warrant more promotional costs.

The result is a vicious circle; albums sell poorly, and promoters, record companies, and radio stations pull back from pushing them; because of the media blackout, new audiences get little opportunity for exposure to reggae.

### Smoother music.

Recent developments in both the music and business may mean a change.

Reggae in the U.S. has become increasingly more polished, in part through the use of multi-track recording techniques. Groups are also borrowing from rock, soul, and jazz and are moving away from the old rough and rootsy sound.

A good example is Third World, which just released their third Island album—"Journey to Addis"—and are currently touring the U.S. They expertly combine traditional reggae percussion and bass, rock-style guitar (the lead guitarist has obviously listened a lot to Jimi Hendrix) and keyboard leads, and brilliant soulful harmonies. Their new album has a sparkling version of the old Gamble and Huff song, "New That We've Found Love," which for a moment dismantles the barriers between black music in Jamaica and this country.

Purists object that this movement away from roots music al-

## Warner Brothers suddenly wants to promote reggae with soul and rock sounds.

so means abandoning reggae's message of revolt. While this may be true for Bob Marley's most recent albums, it does not hold for other groups. For instance, Steel Pulse, from Birmingham, England, has built a large following in Britain through its militant political stance and its support for the Rock Against Racism movement. Yet its just-released album, *Handsworth Revolution* (Mango) offers a smooth, sophisticated brand of reggae on such uncompromising songs as "Ku Klux Klan."

### Less business as usual.

Business practices are changing, as well as the sound of reggae; more reggae is suddenly available. Earlier this year, United Artists distributed 12 reggae albums purchased from Record Specialists in Jamaica. Some albums feature older works by major figures such as Max Romeo and the Heptones, while other are first offerings of important new talents like the Meditations and Pablo Moses. (Unfortunately, United Artists has dumped these albums on the U.S. market with no publicity.)

Peter Tosh, after two critically acclaimed albums on Columbia, has hooked up with the Rolling Stones and their record label. He received nationwide exposure this summer as part of the Stones' U.S. tour, and his forthcoming album on Rolling Stones Records is expected to be promoted extensively.

Last week, Mango brought out two important new albums, one of which, *Handsworth Revolution* by Steel Pulse, has reached Number six on the charts in Great Britain. Even more exciting is the debut album of I Jah Man, entitled *Haile I Hymn (Chapter I)*. Featuring some of the most moving and haunting songs I've ever heard, the album powerfully expresses I Jah Man's religious convictions.

Perhaps most important, Island records agreed to let Warner Brothers manufacture and distribute selected Island products in this country. Bob Marley and the Wailers and Third World are included in the pact, and the results were immediate when Third World's current tour was promoted on local rock stations. Warren Smith commented that although Warner Bros. "will only

take the real popish kind of reggae," the increased exposure will aid reggae as a whole.

Of course, the deal does not include a large number of reggae artists on Island's Mango label. "Mango's on its own," company president Lister Hewan-Lowe said. He and other Mango representatives promised to make every effort to promote new artists. But groups like the Heptones, with Mango now for several years, are currently in limbo with no new releases planned.

### A new cult movie.

Reggae may get promotion as well from a new movie, *Rockers*, presented at the recent San Francisco Film Festival. Written and directed by Theodoros Bafaloukos, it stars Leroy ("Horse-mouth") Wallace, a well-known reggae drummer, and some of Jamaica's most famous musicians, including Big Youth, Robbie Shakespeare, and Winston ("Burning Spear") Rodney, playing smaller roles.

*Rockers* includes a fine reggae soundtrack and a pro-Rasta, loosely anti-capitalist theme. Unfortunately, except for some electrifying scenes involving non-actors in night clubs, record stores, and neighborhoods, this Robin Hood fable quickly becomes tedious and predictable. *Rockers* lacks the novelty of *The Harder They Come*.

### Long way to go.

Despite new hope for success in the U.S., reggae has a good distance to travel. You can look at the experience of Culture, probably Jamaica's most popular group. Culture's first album, *Two Stevens Clash* (1977), still has not been released here, and was only distributed in Britain in spring 1978. The group's marvelously original songs are harder and rootsier—and less acceptable on U.S. radio—than those of most groups with U.S. albums.

The best hope reggae has is for groups with major record companies behind them—Third World, Peter Tosh, Bob Marley—to extend their appeal into rock, soul, and disco audiences. That way, I Jah Man and Culture may get promoted and heard.

—Bruce Dancis

Bruce Dancis writes on rock and reggae for West Coast and national publications.

## CULTURE SHOCK



### AFTER THE AQUARIAN AGE

College students are buying Gustav Mahler's supercharged emotional music "like crazy," says a classical record distributor in *Billboard*, because "now when college

students are being so practical and half of them are committing suicide and worrying about their futures, Mahler reflects their inner being."

### ANIMAL PASSIONS

Merle Haggard entitled his new duet single (with new wife Leona Williams) *The*

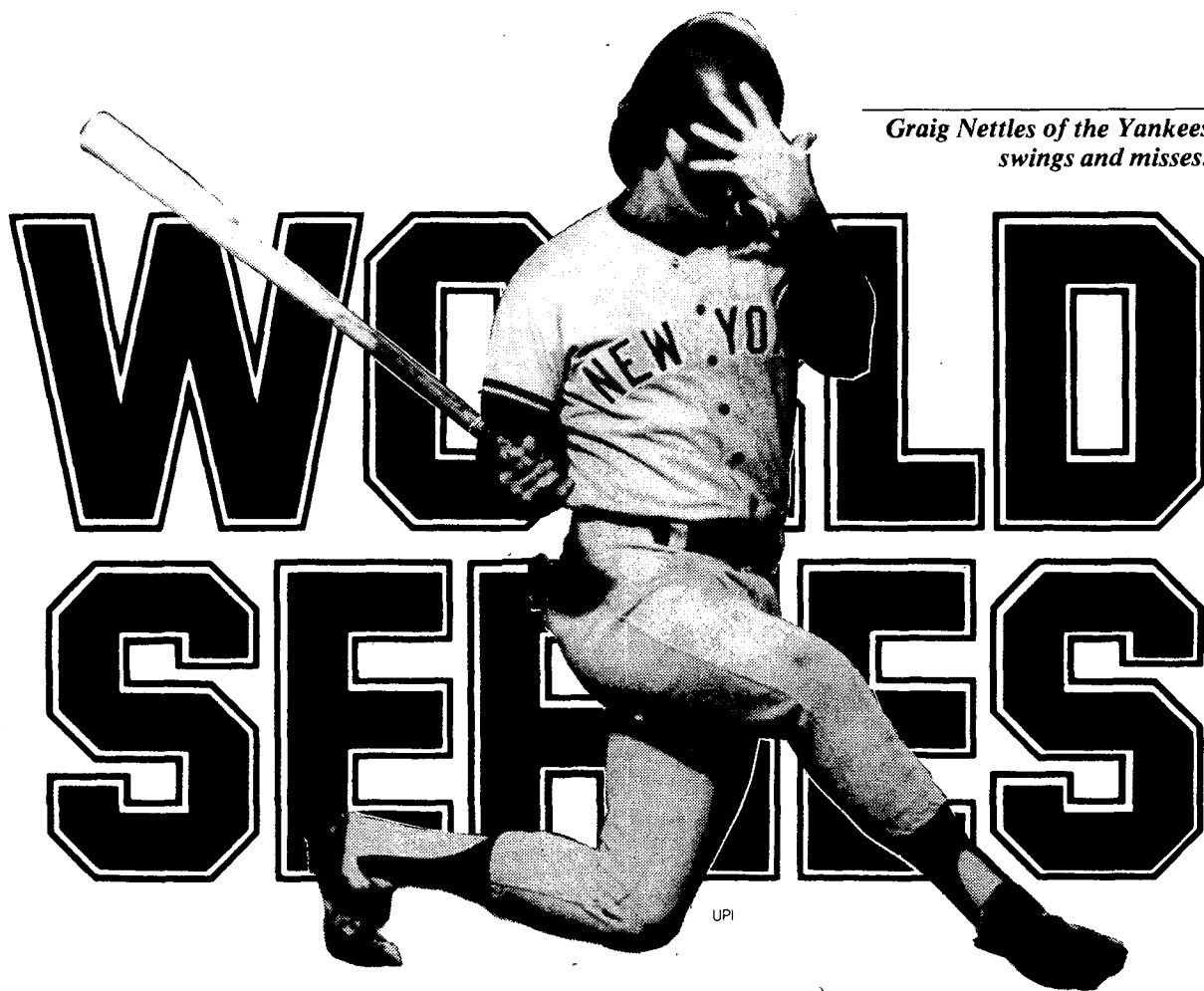
*Bull and the Beaver*. Well, mama tried to steer him right.

### SALES IS THE WORD, IS THE WORD

In the first week of October, singles from RSO's *Grease* topped the charts in West Germany, Britain, Australia, and Holland.







*Graig Nettles of the Yankees swings and misses.*

The Yankees are as street smart and opportunistic as a New York cabbie. They're tough to love, but easy to admire.

By Mark Naison

**T**HOSE YANKEES! YOU CAN hate their arrogance, their petty feuding and their money-hunger; but you've got to admit they come to play. This series, more than their comeback against the Red Sox, shows they are a great team, up there with the A's of the early '70s.

The Yanks entered the series under the most inauspicious circumstances. Willie Randolph, their great second baseman—some say the best athlete on the club—was out with a pulled hamstring. Mickey Rivers, their center fielder and leadoff hitter, had a sore leg. Chris Chambliss had a sore hand that kept him on the bench for most of the games. The injuries severely weakened the Yankees' running game—so instrumental in their success in last year's series—and reduced their left-handed power.

In the first two series games, the Yankees were outclassed. The Dodger team, led by second baseman Davey Lopes, came out hitting aggressively and going for the extra base. They battered Yankee pitching for 11 runs in the first game and four in the second. The Yankee players got their share of hits, but their big hitters couldn't drive in the runs.

The Yank's frustration was symbolized by the confrontation between Reggie Jackson and 21-year-old Dodger right-hander Bob Welch in the ninth inning of the second game. With two out the Dodgers ahead 4-to-3, and the winning run on base, Jackson dueled Welch to a three and two count, fouled off four pitches and then struck out on a fastball right down

the middle. Enraged, Jackson went storming into the dugout where he got involved in a shoving match with Yankee pilot Bob Lemon.

As the Yankees prepared to return to the Stadium, rumors of dissension on the team filled the sports pages, and the Yanks looked anything but invincible.

Once again, it devolved upon Rod Guidry to restore Yankee momentum. Fourteen times this year, the slim left-hander had taken the mound after a Yankee loss and won the game, and he won the crucial playoff game against the Red Sox. By his own admission, Guidry was thoroughly exhausted, and he faced a Dodger team with enormous right-handed power.

Guidry did not have his good stuff this game. He gave up an early run and allowed Dodger players on base almost every inning. But at critical points in the game, Guidry was bailed out by brilliant fielding by the Yankee infield, particularly third baseman Graig Nettles. Diving to his left and his right, Nettles took away several extra base hits from Dodger batters, and turned would be singles into double plays. The Yankee shortstop, Bucky Dent, and second baseman, Brian Doyle, were equally effective, if less spectacular, and Guidry helped his cause by keeping the ball low and forcing the Dodger players to hit the ball on the ground.

While the Yankee infield sparkled, the Dodger infield began to crumble. Dodger pitcher Don Sutton, a sinkerball (some say a spitball) artist, got the Yankees to hit ground balls, but Dodger shortstop Bill Russell and second baseman Lopes, never noted for their slick fielding, started to bobble ground balls, rush their throws, and miss opportunities to make

double plays. The Yankees won the game, five to one, but more important, they had exposed the weakness in the Dodger's armor, and their confidence returned.

In the next game, the Yanks pulled off one of their patented come-from-behind victories. Down three to one in the late inning, they tied the score and sent the game into extra innings, helped by some shaky fielding by the Dodgers and some intrepid and possibly illegal base-running by Jackson.

In the bottom of the tenth, with the score tied and Bob Welch on the mound, the confrontation that had ended the second game occurred again. With a runner on first and one out, Jackson came to bat. But this time he avoided the temptation to swing for the fences and lashed a ground single to right. Lou Piniella, the Yanks' next batter, hit a long single to left to drive in the winning run.

What happened next to the Dodgers is what has happened to many teams that have gone head-to-head with the Yankees—they cracked under the pressure. The Yankees, sensing the Dodgers' shaky condition, came to the plate in the fifth game determined to make contact and force the Dodger fielders to make the play, even if it meant sacrificing the long ball. Ground balls and line drives came whizzing off the bat of almost every player in the Yankee line-up and the Dodgers managed to misplay many of them. Bobbled grounders, passed balls, erratic throws, and missed cut-off men occurred in embarrassing profusion and the Yankees went on to win 12 to two.

The Dodgers players, with a petulance worthy of their neighbor in San Clemente, blamed their pathetic showing on the New York fans and press. They dubbed Yankee Stadium the "Bronx Zoo" and suggested that the country might benefit if a bomb were dropped on it.

But even in the familiar confines of Chavez Ravine, the Dodgers couldn't take the heat. They made two big errors, forcing them to play catch up against Catfish Hunter, one of the smartest pitchers in baseball. They had men on base throughout the game, but couldn't drive in the runs.

While the Yankee hitters, particularly Dent, Doyle and Rivers, hit single after single, the Dodger sluggers tried to drive the ball out of the park and came up with goose eggs. In the last few innings, the Yankee power became evident as Jackson blasted an enormous homer to right off former nemesis Bob Welch. But basically they won the game, and the series, by nicking and diming the Dodgers to death—getting an early lead, putting pressure on the Dodgers' fielders, and never letting up.

To many New Yorkers, even those who don't like the Yankees, the victory was sweet. In the course of the season, this Yankee team, to friend and foe alike, had come to symbolize the character of the city—angry, contentious, cocky, and embroiled in a perpetual crisis. In contrast to the graceful Yankee stars of the past, its best players are awkward and bizarre.

But the Yankee players are great athletes, and great competitors who play their best under pressure. Mickey Rivers, though he walks like Groucho Marx with a terminal illness, has great speed and extraordinary bat control. Thurman Munson, who would look more at home behind the counter of a delicatessen than in a baseball uniform, has good speed and superior strength and reflexes. The same holds true for Chambliss, Piniella and Nettles, none of whom are classically proportioned.

The Yankees blend their skills into a team as street smart and opportunistic as a New York cabbie. They're a tough bunch to love—especially for anyone outside the family—but you've got to admire the way they play. ■